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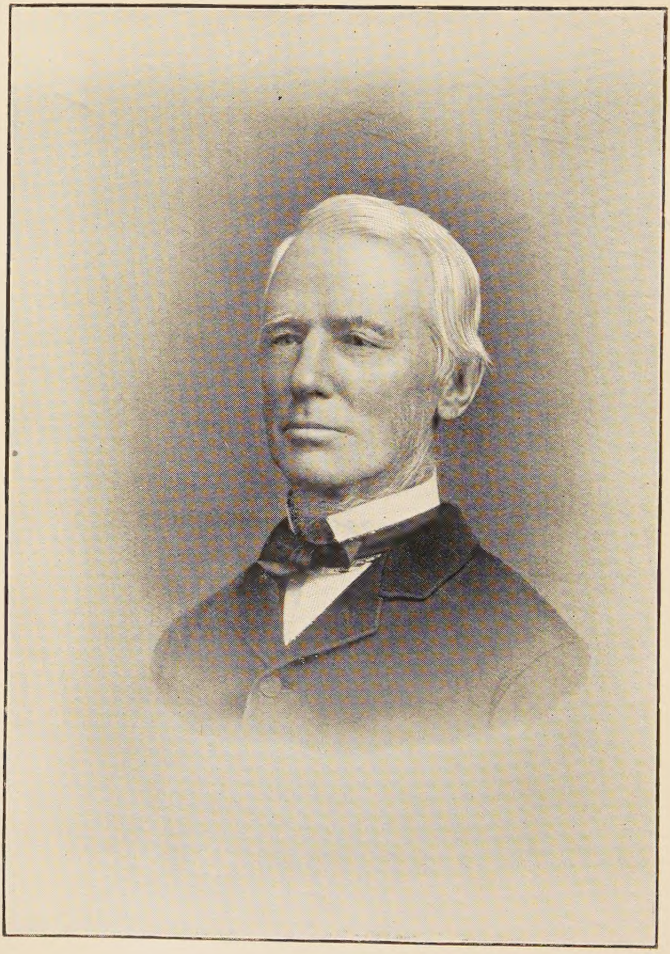

ROBERT GIBSON, J.P.

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AN OLD BERWICKSHIRE TOWN

HISTORY OF THE TOWN AND PARISH OF GREENLAW, FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

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EDITED BY HIS SON THOMAS GIBSON

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PREFACE

When my father died in 1903, he left behind him in almost completed form the manuscript of a history of the parish of Greenlaw. In the collection and verification of his material he spent years of laborious research, in the course of which he brought to light much interesting information regarding bygone times that gave a new setting to many of the details of local history, and shed a fresh light on many facts hitherto unknown or forgotten.

Not the least important part of his labours was the result of his own personal observation. He recorded place-names, customs, and traditions which, but for his intimate knowledge of the district and acquaintance with people of a past generation, would long since have passed into oblivion.

Immediately after his death several people who were conversant with his work urged that

it would be a distinct loss to local history were the results of his investigations not given to the public in permanent form, and I undertook the preparation of the book for the press.

The ecclesiastical part of the volume treats of the founding of the parish church, with the dependent chapels of Halyburton and Lambden, and its subsequent development both before and after the Reformation. Much interesting material, hitherto unpublished, illustrative of church life in olden times has been drawn from the Church Records. A full account is also given of the Secession, United Presbyterian, Auld Licht, and Free Church congregations.

The burghal part of the history gives in detail the different charters granted to the town, makes particular reference to its position as the county town, and narrates the efforts made by other towns in the county to secure this position, bringing the controversy down to its latest development. The County Records have supplied much information of interest to the present age, as to the methods of administering justice in earlier times.

Wages and Cost of Living, Former Industries, Funeral Customs, Fairs and Markets,

form the subjects of several chapters which show the great changes that have taken place in rural economy, and illustrate phases of rural life now gone or rapidly disappearing.

Four chapters dealing with Old and Extinct Families make, I believe, a considerable contribution to the family histories of the county. Of one of these—the Greenlaw family—little or nothing has been hitherto known, and its history is for the first time presented in definite outline.

Of late years the importance of local history as shedding light on national life and character has been much more fully appreciated, and the present work will, I hope, be found to contain some definite addition to this department of national literature. I trust that it will, in any case, appeal with special interest to natives of Greenlaw and the wider circle of the county of which Greenlaw was so long the capital.

In preparing the book for publication I have sometimes condensed the material, especially in cases referring to more recent times, regarding which information can be obtained in easily accessible books ; but in no case have I altered the substance.

In conclusion, I have to acknowledge my

indebtedness to my brother, Professor George A. Gibson, LL.D., and my brother-in-law, the Rev. Peter Wilson, M.A., for the interest they have taken in the progress of the book, their help in proof-reading, and the preparation of the Index.

THOMAS GIBSON.

7 Glengyle Terrace,
Edinburgh, *August* 1905.

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AN OLD BERWICKSHIRE TOWN

CHAPTER I

EARLY HISTORY

The town of Greenlaw originally stood about a mile to the south of its present situation, on an eminence or law now occupied by the farm-house of Old Greenlaw. The name Greenlaw belongs to the class of place-names taken from the natural features of a locality, and points to an early foundation. When, and by whom, the settlement was founded, there is no direct evidence to show, though probably the settlers were of Anglian race. But an approximate latest date may be found from the planting of the church, which may be set down as at the close of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century. In the former century, according to the venerable Bede, Christianity was introduced into Northumbria by missionaries from Lindisfarne (Holy Island), and it was widely

embraced. We may reasonably believe that the Greenlaw district would be included in this field of missionary labour, and that the church founded would bear the name of the settlement. Although no evidence remains, there is a memorial of the existence of such a church in a tradition that there was a churchyard in a field immediately to the east of the old mansion house of Old Greenlaw.

There is nothing known of the names of persons in possession till we come down to the twelfth century, when, in a Kelso Abbey charter of date 1180, the name of a William de Grenelaw occurs. This is the first notice of the Greenlaw family, who probably took their surname of Greenlaw from the lands or place, thus intimating their proprietary relation to the lands.

This family is not to be mistaken, as it has been, for the family of Patrick, who got from his father Cospatrick, third Earl of Dunbar, the so-called manor of Greenlaw before 1166.

How much of the lands of the parish was owned by the Greenlaw family does not appear. They had considerable lands in Hassington (three miles south of Greenlaw), from which liberal grants were made to Melrose Abbey. It is highly probable, however, that the family had been connected with the land for some time before 1180, as in that year William is

introduced in circumstances that indicate prior residence, he being witness to a church charter at a place distant from his abode as one well known. Neither Patrick afore-mentioned, nor his son William, assumed the surname of Greenlaw when surnames were coming into use, a fact which would seem to indicate that the name had been assumed by a different family.

The ownership of the family lands would not be affected by the grant in 1073 of the lands of the Merse by Malcolm Canmore, to Cospatrick, Earl of Northumberland, who had fled to Scotland. The effect of this grant on the position of existing owners would merely be the transference to the grantee of the rights of the crown in the lands as immediate superiors to those in possession; or some might continue under exemption to hold under the crown.[1]

From Cospatrick descended the Earls of Dunbar and March, and the lands of the Merse and Lothian granted to him by Malcolm Canmore were afterwards erected into an Earldom of March. Thus the Earls of Dunbar and March became superiors of

[1] When the Greenlaw lands, after the forfeiture of the Earl of March, were gifted to Thomas de Cranston, there was a clause in the grant securing that the lands should continue to be held of the crown in the event of the Earldom being at any time granted to any person.

the lands, and so were brought into superior relationship also with Greenlaw district. The Earldom was forfeited to the crown in 1434, the crown then becoming the superior.

In the list of properties, as seen in the payments from them to the crown, we get an idea of the subdivisions of property then existing, which does not accord with the idea, apt to be entertained, of the land being in few hands.

The following list of properties in Greenlaw district is taken from the *Exchequer Rolls*:—

Old Greenlaw held by Thomas Cranston, Greenlawdean and Greenlaw Came held by the Broomfields, Brumehill (Greenlaw) held by the Hatelys, Blasonbrade held by the Whitelaws. For the lands there was paid to the king as Earl of March a reddendo of twelve silver pennies in name of blench ferme. The Tenandry, held by George Inglis, was granted by George, Earl of Dunbar, to a George Inglis, his armour bearer, in 1422. The lands of Lamden (*alias* Hassington) were held in different portions. The Hatelys long possessed "the east fourth part towards the south" and the mill. Greenside was held by the Heryns and the Edwardsons, Eastfield by James Broomfield, Whiteside by the Laird of Wedderlie. Bedshiel was long held by the family of Schoreswood.

The families of the Redpaths and the

Broomfields held separate properties in the district then and afterwards. This list of subdivided properties could be widely extended.

In 1487 Alexander Lummysden, designed Serjeant of Greenlaw, was collector of the crown in Greenlaw district. In the *Exchequer Rolls*, from which the foregoing list is taken, reference is occasionally made to the lands of Greenlaw and surrounding country having been wasted by the wars and disturbances so frequent on the Borders, in consequence of which the duties payable to the crown were only partially paid. The years 1461 and 1490 are given; and it is stated that in the years 1497 and 1499, the lands were so wasted by "wars with the English" that the fermes were not collected, as the lands were not laboured, or the crops were destroyed.

In 1457 amongst lands paying dues to the crown was the "Sergeant land of Grynlaw." This would be land set apart at some former time as belonging to the office of sergeant, or overseer of a district.[1]

Possibly the office was connected with the

[1] The above sergeant land is measured and localised in the title deeds of a property in Todholes—two small fields lying immediately east of the Blackadder—belonging to Mr James Kerr. The fields are described as forming a part of "ane husband land of old called the officers' lands." (A husband land is 26 acres.)

local management of the affairs of the Earldom of March before the forfeiture. In 1296 we find one "Nigel of Greenlaw, Earl Patrick's man," acting in such a capacity (*Calendar of State Documents relating to Scotland*, vol. xi., p. 189).

How long the Greenlaw family held possession of the Greenlaw lands we have no certain knowledge, but the family retained a connection with the district down to the fourteenth century (see notice of the Greenlaw Family). In 1451 lands of Greenlaw were granted by the king to Thomas Cranston, *Scutifer Regis* (Royal Squire) and one of the wardens of the Marches in 1459. The lands were incorporated into one free barony (*Register of the Great Seal*, No. 529). The free barony being "of Greenlaw" intimates that the Old Greenlaw lands were in the grant, as Old Greenlaw was still the representative name of the parish lands. The lands do not seem to have long remained in the Cranston family, as we find that in 1504 William Redpath of Greenlaw was seized by the crown in the lands of "Auld Greenlaw" (*Exchequer Rolls*, vol. xii.).

The lands, consisting of twelve husband lands (312 acres), were in 1508-9, along with the tower and manor place, confirmed by the king, and as a reward of good service were incorporated into one free barony of Greenlaw

Redpath. In the grant power was given to build a mill, and there was granted a right to the watercourse through the common land of Greenlaw to the old channel (viz., the Wattergang) of the water or stream of Greenlaw. The barony was to be held by giving attendance at the three yearly head courts of the county at Berwick, and by the payment of Castle Wards[1] (*R. G. S.*, No. 3287.

This erection of Redpaths lands is the origin of the name "Barony of Greenlaw Redpath," given to Greenlaw lands as they are still held by the proprietor of the Marchmont estate. The building of Greenlaw Castle may be set down to the time when this barony was created. The actual thirlage of Old Greenlaw lands to the Castle Mill is in keeping with the terms of the charter. The description "common land" in the grant must refer to the haugh land which appears to have been used by the people in common.

The town of "Auld" Greenlaw was, of course, the town of the barony of Greenlaw Redpath, and down to 1598 it continued to be the head town of the parish. There is no reason to believe that it was much more than a hamlet. Around Auld Greenlaw,

[1] Castle Wards were dues payable by lands in the vicinity of some of the Royal Castles for the expense of upholding them.

there were scattered dwellings, the memory of which survives in the place-names of Ramsknowe, Bellishill, Holyrig, and Babbie's Knowes.

Of the existence of the original church in that locality there is no remaining indication either in mound or in field name. The mansion-house stood close to the green eminence, which gave rise to the descriptive name, Greenlaw. The house presented very much the style of building which served the double purpose of habitation and defence. It consisted of two storeys, with a tower above. The walls were three feet thick. It was taken down in 1868, the last survival of a style of mansion-house which, with modifications in keeping with the exigencies of the time, had existed, no doubt, on the place for centuries. In the grand old ash trees growing near, there is presented a characteristic feature of old manorial places.

Berwickshire did not play, at any time, a conspicuous part, so far as known, in the struggle against Edward's usurpation, if we except the assembly of the Scottish Estates at Birgham. It gave as much active assistance as active opposition, for which various reasons can be assigned. Henry Halyburton, though swearing fealty to Edward, yet shortly afterwards was found opposed to him, as

appears from his being sent by Wallace in 1297 to occupy the town of Berwick. He is subsequently found on the side of Edward. In 1308, he and Adam de Gordon, with some other Scottish adherents of the English king, were sureties for the fidelity of William Lamberton, Bishop of St Andrews, whose sympathies were all with his own country. Ralph Halyburton, along with Patrick of Polwarth, formed part of the garrison which so stoutly defended the castle of Stirling against Edward in 1304, but which was compelled to surrender. Ralph was sent as a prisoner to England. Edward, in his unwavering determination to secure the capture of Wallace, afterwards sent Ralph to Scotland under the care of Sir John de Mowbray, a Scottish knight, Halyburton being ordered to co-operate with other Scotchmen who were seeking to secure the person of Wallace; and Mowbray was to watch how "this debased person conducted himself." How Ralph conducted himself has not been determined; but Wallace, as is well known, was ultimately betrayed by Sir John Menteith. William de Grenelaw was clerk to Sir John Mowbray, who was high in favour with Edward. In 1306 William prayed Edward to grant him six oaks in Jedworth forest for the restoration of his house, which had been burned by his enemies

(the Scots) (*Calendar of State Documents relating to Scotland,* vol. xi.).

The following is a list of names taken from the Ragman Roll of persons in the Greenlaw and adjoining district, who swore fealty to Edward at Berwick on 28th August 1296 :—

"Nicol de Camp, vicar of the Church of Grenelaw, Mathew de Grenelaw, son of William de Grenelaw, Alice, widow of Philip de Halyburton and Henry her son, William de Redpath, Adam de Totherigg, son of Henry of Totherigg, Ade de Fraser, Prioress of Eccles (Nicol and Ade were restored to church and Priory with their rights), Adam Lamb, persone of Poulsworth (Polwarth), William de Toftes, Robert de Spottiswoode, David, vicar of Foghow, John de Eccles," etc.

CHAPTER II

AULD AND NEW GREENLAW

The original town of Greenlaw is first named Auld Greenlaw in the sasine of the lands of William Redpath in 1504, and it is also so named in the rent roll of Kelso Abbey made up in 1567. Down to 1598 it continued to be what we might call the parish town. Sometime previous to that date, however, the Greenlaw kirk town, or new Greenlaw, had been planted in the valley a mile to the north, and in 1598 had become more populous than Old Greenlaw. This is stated in two charters to which reference will be made.

In 1503 James Brounisfield was granted by the crown six husband lands of Greenlaw for a term of nine years (*Exchequer Rolls*, vol. xii.), and in 1528 Stephen Brounfield received grant of Greenlawdean lands with the mill of the same. These lands continued in the family till 1598, at which date they also possessed "tofts, crofts, and gardens in the town of Greenlaw."

The circumstances connected with this change take us back to the twelfth century. When the light of this century breaks on the ecclesiastical state of Greenlaw, we see it already formed into a parish having a mother church with dependent chapels. As we have seen, Cospatrick, Earl of Northumberland, whom William the Conqueror had deprived of his earldom, fled to Scotland in 1072. He was graciously received by Malcolm Canmore, who assigned to him "lands in Lothian and the Merse till better times should return" (Dalrymple's *Annals of Scotland*, p. 205).

Cospatrick's second son (Cospatrick) was made Earl of Dunbar, and his son Cospatrick, the second Earl of Dunbar, gave to Kelso Abbey the church of Greenlaw with the chapel of Lambden, not later than the year 1147, in which year the earl died (Kelso Abbey, Charter 71). This date is given by Douglas and Crawford in their peerage books, and also by Morton in his *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*. Cosmo Innes, editor of the printed copy of *Kelso Chartulary*, gives 1159 as the probable date. Douglas says that the charter was witnessed and consented to by Cospatrick's three sons, Cospatrick, Edward, and Edgar. In the printed copy of the charter, however, no witnesses are given.

They may be noted elsewhere, but Douglas gives no reference.

The first recorded mention of Greenlaw is in this charter. That the church of Greenlaw mentioned in the charter was located at the present Greenlaw admits of no doubt, and also as far as information ascertainable goes, it was built on the site of the present church. The subsequent grants of known lands to Kelso Abbey, which are described as being near the church, fix the locality of the town.[1] To this period—the transference of the church—we may assign the erection of Greenlaw parish and the beginning of the present town to which the newly erected church and transference of site would give the name of Kirk Town.

Cospatrick, the granter and probable founder of Greenlaw church, was succeeded by his son Cospatrick, third Earl of Dunbar. This Earl (who died in 1166) gave to his second son, Patrick, the manor of Greenlaw (Wood's *Douglas Peerage*). This Patrick had a son William, who succeeded to the Greenlaw lands. Patrick died between 1228 and 1230, as he witnessed a deed of Alexander II. in 1228, and William gave a grant to Coldstream Priory in 1230.

[1] See the grants by William, son of Patrick (p. 28), and the lease of church lands to Brounfield of Eastfield (p. 34).

The Earls of Dunbar do not appear, as has been alleged by some, to have had residence at Greenlaw. We may presume that the above Patrick had, although we have no direct reference to it. One of his grants of lands to Kelso Abbey was from his demesne in Whytside—in modern form his home farm—which is close to Greenlaw. He had also permission from the monks of the Abbey to have a chapel in his court (curia) at Greenlaw, about 1230.

William's mansion-house would naturally be on his demesne; and the site of the late Tenandry house may have been the site of his mansion-house, as it is the only one of antiquity pointing back to the time of William.[1]

The Tenandry House stood in the ninth field east of the public school on the north side of the Marchmont Road. The field is still known by the name of the "Tenandry field," and two old ash trees still mark the site of the house, which is said to have been a castellated

[1] The place-name, "The Tenandry," as occurring in the locality, is peculiar. The definite article in the name also indicates its peculiarity as being the only holding in the district known by a Tenandry name. How the name came to be applied to a place in Greenlaw locality is a question that cannot positively be answered. We are disposed to think that the first, or an early possessor of the holding as a distinct property, was connected with one of the districts in the north of Scotland, where the name was most prevalent, and was thereby led to give the same name to his newly acquired property.

structure. Like many of the mansion houses of former times, it sank to the level of an ordinary dwelling. Old residenters, recently deceased, remembered its being so occupied. Guided by their recollections, we may assign the date when it ceased to be used as a habitation and was levelled to the ground, to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

William married first, M. the Countess, as she is usually described, and afterwards in a second marriage Ada de Courtenay (his half cousin), daughter of Patrick, fifth Earl of Dunbar, from whom she got the lands of Home in free marriage with a William de Courtenay.[1] Courtenay died without issue about 1217, and Ada two years later married a second husband, Theobald Lascelles, becoming a widow for the second time in 1225.[2] She thereafter married as her third husband the above William, to whom she carried the lands of Home (Wood's *Douglas Peerage*).[3]

[1] Shown from a grant out of the lands of Home before 1240 (Wood's *Douglas Peerage*).

[2] MS. of the Earl of Home. Historical MSS. Commission and *Calendar of State Documents relating to Scotland*, 1108-1272, Preface, p. 58.

[3] Sir William Fraser, in his report on the MSS. of the Earl of Home, says, "It seems doubtful whether William married Ada de Courtenay, and that the Sir William, Lord of Home, named in the charter of 1268, was probably not her husband, as usually stated, but her son, who inherited the territory of Home through her, and took his surname from his lands." The text, however, is the generally accepted theory.

William fixed his residence at Home Castle,[1] assuming the surname of Home from the lands, and became the founder of the house of Home (Nisbet's *Heraldry*).

After this change of residence the relations of the family with Greenlaw parish became less intimate. The size of Greenlaw manor as possessed by William is not given; but we have seen that a number of independent properties existed in the parish, so that his interest in the Greenlaw lands was probably less than in the lands of Home. This, combined with his change of residence, would lead to the family relationship to Greenlaw parish passing largely out of sight, till it was renewed by a branch of the family in the person of Sir George Home of Spott in 1596. William died in 1266.

Nisbet, in his *Heraldry*, says, "In the arms of Dunbar the Armorial figure was a white lion in a red field, and the Homes have always had the same lion in a green field for a difference as relative to their old designation Greenlaw." This, however, can only imply

[1] In an Inventory of Home Writs of charters, of date 9th March 1637, there is "Item ane chartour granted be King William to William Home, sone to Johne Home of the lands of Home and Castell thairof (1165-1214)." This is probably the first reference to the castle. From this Inventory it would appear that the surname of Home was assumed by a prior family in possession of the lands.

a reference to their former possession of Greenlaw lands, as the family did not assume the surname of Greenlaw.

The barony of Greenlaw Redpath passed into the possession of Sir George Home of Spott, afterwards Earl of Dunbar and High Treasurer of Scotland, following on a resignation of the lands by William Redpath. The charter conveying the grant is dated at Falkland, 2nd July 1596. The king in the grant conveys "the lands and barony of Grenelaw Reidpath, with the fortalice, manor, common muirs and mills which had been resigned in favour of Sir George, in implement of a contract (dated at Spott, May 1595), with the power of building mills with the water course through the lands of the king, and the common lands of Grenelaw from the river to the mills, and from the said mills to the old channel—the watergang of the stream of Grenelaw—and binding the tenants and grain of the said lands to the said mills, and paying the thirlage and multures, notwithstanding that the king had his own mill (present Greenlaw mill) within the said Lordship of Greenlaw. Also with the right of commons and of common pasture with cutting of fewall and divot in the Great Eastern Common Moor of Greenlaw." Reddendo, One red rose in the name of blench ferme as of old, notwithstanding

any charters which may have been granted to the predecessors of the said William as to lands to be held by wardam service" (*R. G. S.*, 293).

Thereafter another charter erecting Auld Greinlaw into a free burgh of barony was given at Halyrudhouse on 12th December 1596, as follows:

"The king, in return for the services rendered him for many years by his dear servant Sir George Home of Spott, baron of the barony of Greinlaw Redpath (and because after the capture of the town of Berwick and its retention under the English authority there existed no royal burgh within the bounds of the county of Berwick) erected the town of Greinlaw in the said barony (situated about the middle of the county and such that the lieges would have easy access to it and departure from it) into a free burgh of barony, and granted the said Sir George, his heirs, etc., the power of appointing bailiffs, treasurer, dean of guild, burgh magistrates, officers, etc., . . . yearly in the said burgh, and power to remove them if need be. With powers to the burgesses of building a Common hall which might serve for both buying and selling, and of having a Market Cross, and weekly markets to be held on Tuesdays, with two free fairs yearly, namely, on the 3rd of May (the Haly Croce or

St Helen's day) and the 8th September (Lady-day) to last two consecutive days with power of collecting customs, etc. . . . And with power . . . to dispone in whole or in part, the lands of Auld Grinlaw in burgage, to hold burgh courts annually according to custom. Further, because the said burgh would in a short time by the building of numerous houses, and by the formation of a council, become not only thickly populated, but also extremely convenient for all people, both strangers and subjects of the king, the king ordains that all proclamations of the royal letters should be made at the Market Cross of the said burgh, the premier burgh of the said county, and nowhere else."

The king inhibited the erection of any other town lying within four miles into a royal burgh or a burgh of barony, and also inhibited anyone from transacting business within said distance. The Reddendo was one red rose on St Helen's day (*R. G. S.*, 500).

A charter dated Halyrudhouse, 1st July 1598, modified the latter one, and conveyed additional lands to Sir George. These included the lands of Pokehaugh, with the meadows, the mill of Grenelawdene, with the privilege of the water-course and the damheid and the astricted multures, the houses and the onsteides, with the tofts and crofts and gardens

of the town of Grenelaw, which Stephen Bruntfield of Grenelawdene and Mariota his wife resigned in favour of the said Sir George. "Besides" (the charter goes on to say) "the king understanding that the town of Grenelaw is more suitable for erection into a free burgh in respect of its situation in the most thickly populated part of that region which lies nearest to the running stream of Grenelaw towards the south and the great Common Moor of Grenelaw towards the north (no small advantage in the maintenance on a large scale of household fires and in providing pasture). Where also many hereditary possessors of lands reside, viz., Bruntfields, Haitlies, Reidpaths, Trotters, Dicksones, and others of that class. Because it was certain it would be much more serviceable in getting rid of disadvantages, quarrels, and bloody feuds which might arise among people when they were obliged, because no burgh was near, to shelter themselves in towns far apart from one another, the king, anew, conveyed to the said Sir George in feu ferme, and erected the town of Grenelaw into a free burgh of barony with all the privileges as in the charter of erection of Auld Grenelaw, except that proclamations are to be published both at the Market Cross of Grenelaw and at the cross of the town of Duns. To be paid 10

merks in feu ferme and for the said burgh one red rose in name of blench farm and double said merks on the succession of heirs" (*R. G. S.*, No. 741).

The charter was ratified by Parliament in 1600 in so far as respects the erection of the town into a burgh of barony with all the privileges conferred therewith.

In the ratification by Parliament on 3rd July 1606 of the barony of Grenelaw Reidpath to George (now Earl of Dunbar), the following lands are amongst those enumerated along with other lands of the Earldom of Dunbar: "Lands and barony of Grenelaw, tower, manor place, house, common mures, mylnes, multures, Bromehill, Blaisinbraid, lands of Grenelaw-dene and myln, myln lands, manor place and multures, etc., Pokehaugh, lands of Tenandry, Eistfield, Qwhytside, Marksworth, Clay Dub, Kirk lands of Grenelaw, Presentation to the personage and vicarage of the parish kirk of the parochin of Greinlaw. All and haill the burgh and town of Greinlaw, privileges and liberties thereof, Lands of Horsely and teynds theirof, Lands of Grenewood and teynds. All within the sheriffdom of Berwick. . . . To be rendered to his Majesty and his heirs for the barony £46, 7s., Scots, with 4s. and 6d. of augmentation of the rental in name of feu ferme alanerlie. And for the Church lands of

Grenelaw £3, 14s. (Scots). And for the saides landis and Auld baronie of Grenelaw Reidpath, Ane reid rose at the Castell of Grenelaw in the feist of sanct John the Baptiste's birthday, in name of blench ferme gif it be asked onlie. And for the richt of patronage of the said personage and vicarage of Grenelawe ane qwheat rose at the same feist if required onlie."

It is in this confirmatory charter that Greenlaw Castle is first mentioned by that name. The connection in which it occurs intimates, of course, that it was the manor-house of the barony. And the reddendo of the red rose being the same as the reddendo for the "Auld barony of Grenelaw Reidpath," and the fact that the additional lands were incorporated into the barony still retaining the name, leads to the conclusion that Greenlaw Castle was at first the mansion-house of the "Auld barony," and was built by the Reidpath family of which, however, the date is uncertain. Possibly the name "castle" may have been applied to it afterwards, when the barony came into the possession of Sir George Home, as being more in keeping with the greater dignity of its new possessor.

The date when the present Greenlaw became the full representative parish town is fixed by the charter of 1598. Formerly

after the planting of the church there, it would properly be called the kirk town. But the prior erection of Auld Greenlaw into a free burgh intimates that it was then still regarded as the premier town, or, as we may call it, the civil town. The two towns, however, for long after the planting of the second Greenlaw are seldom distinguished in deeds, and it is frequently difficult to decide which of the two is meant.

There does not seem to be ground for the opinion entertained by some that Old Greenlaw having been burned down in the Border raids by the English, the present Greenlaw was then built as being in a more protected situation. The burning of a hamlet or village in those days was not such a great calamity. Easily burned down, they were comparatively easily put up again. The materials were not costly, nor the labour great. Sir Ralph Eure, one of the English lieutenants on the Borders, referring to a number of villages and towns in the Merse that were destroyed in 1542, says in one of his despatches: "Ther was dyvers of this townes afornamyd in the Merce dystroid this last yere with the armye. Notwithstanding the same townes ar byldite and planyshid as they were before" (*State Papers*, Henry VIII., vol. iv., p. 346).

In the Earl of Hertford's raid in September 1545, Greenlaw was one of the towns that were burned down, and a large booty of cattle, sheep, and horses carried off. Among other places in the district mentioned as being destroyed were Greenlaw rig, Sleghden, Eastefield, Woodehede, The Biers, towne of Red Brayes (raced), the towre of Pollerd raced, the towne of Pollerd, Potterwood, the Bowhouse, Selburnerigg, Lambden, Hardacres Stanefalde, the Abbey of Hecles, the town there, Hecklesshiels, Spittlesheugh, Over and Nether Plewland, Over and Nether Tofts, Clerkelees, Headrigg, Puddingraw, Rowyngston, Whinkerstanes, Fouge town, Fowrigge, Foge bank, Sisterpeth and Mylne, Fowge Mylne, the Walke Mylne there, Hume, Lagers Moore, Oxemore, Kenetside, Mychell and Lytell Harle, Hassynton, and Maynes, Hare Lawe, Kaydesheale and Redheughe.

Raids of a similar kind are referred to in "Marmion," in the following lines in which Sir Hugh Heron, the Lord of Norham Castle, replies to Marmion's request for guides to the Scottish Court :—

> "For such-like need, my Lord, I trow
> Norham can find you guides enow,
> For here be some have pricked as far
> On Scottish ground as to Dunbar,

Have drunk the monks of St Bothan's ale,
And driven the beeves of Lauderdale,
Harried the wives of Greenlaw's goods,
And given them light to set their hoods."

CHAPTER III

THE PLANTING OF THE CHURCH

In seeking to fix the date of the original Greenlaw Settlement, we gave the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century as the probable, certainly possible, date of the founding of the church.

As we have already seen (page 12) Cospatrick, second Earl of Dunbar, conveyed the church of Greenlaw, with the chapel of Lambden to the monastery of Kelso, not later than 1147. It is in this charter that we have the first documentary evidence of Greenlaw Church. The fact that Cospatrick gifted the church presupposes his having built and endowed it, since he who built or endowed a church was accounted its patron, and was invested with the right of patronage and gifting (Connel on *Tithes*, and Erskine's *Institutes*).

Greenlaw church was a mother church, having dependent on it the chapels of Lambden and Halyburton. Grants of mother

churches carried with them their dependent chapels.

The following is the charter conveying the church and chapels :—

"To all faithful sons of Holy Mother Church, Earl Cospatrick greeting; Be it known to all of you, both now living and that shall come after, that I have given and by this present charter confirmed to the church of St Mary of Kelso, and the monks serving God therein, in free and perpetual alms, for the souls of King David and Henry his son my lord, and for the souls of my father and mother, and for my own soul, and for the souls of all my predecessors, and successors, the church of Home, with two carrucates[1] of land and with the meadows called Harastroder in the territory of the same town, and the church of Greenlaw with the chapel of Lambden and the adjacent land, and the church of Foghow (Fogo) with one carrucate of land and a certain land called Bothkill-scheles, as Hugh the deaf held it in land and pasture" (Kelso Abbey, Charter 71).

In a charter dated 1170 by Patrick, Lord of Greenlaw, and in another dated 1190 by Patrick, fifth Earl of Dunbar, this grant was confirmed, and in these the chapels of

[1] Carrucate, a ploughland—104 acres—given as the quantity of land a plough would plough in one year.

Lambden and Halyburton are explicitly named, the latter for the first time in 1170. Additional grants of land were also made. In a confirmatory charter of Greenlaw Church the granter inserts the condition that Nigel the clerk was to freely hold the church all the days of his life.

About 1230, William, son of Patrick, granted to Kelso Abbey the toft and croft which Adam Cassin held of him, in the town of Greenlaw, and two oxgangs of land from his demesne in Whytside (Charter 76). This grant was confirmed by Patrick, Earl of Dunbar (Charter 80). About the same time William gave to the monastery "that toft in Greenlaw which Lyolfus Equicius held under the church, in length extending westwards as far as the churchyard—Cæmeterium—and besides in the same town five acres of land and one rood about Cawchesterlane" (Charter 78). The first reference to the churchyard is in this charter.

When a church was gifted to the monastery or any religious body, its dependent chapels, as we have seen, passed along with it, as also the right of making the appointments for divine service in both church and chapels. The monastery likewise possessed the power of permitting or forbidding the erection of chapels in the parish. This power was

jealously exercised especially in the case of private chapels as the multiplication of these would lead to a diminution of the altar offerings, through the absence of the worshippers. About 1200, Roland of Greenlaw (a member of the Greenlaw family) received permission from the Abbot and Monks of Kelso "to have a chapel within the court of his mansion on condition that no loss should accrue to the church of St Mary at Kelso, nor the parish church at Grenelaw." The grant was only made for Roland's lifetime, and among the conditions attaching to it were that the chaplain of the parish church should serve the chapel three days in the week when Roland was at home, that no other chaplain should officiate without his consent, and that Roland and his family should hear service in the parish church on the Great Festivals.

About 1230 a similar permission was given to William, son of Patrick, who promised to the church and monks of St Mary of Kelso "that their church in Grenelaw should suffer no harm" (Charter 75).

The monks of Kelso suffered greatly from the War of Independence, and a charter by William de Lamberton, Bishop of St Andrews, dated about 1316, granted them permission to apply the revenues of the church

at Greenlaw, with its chapels of Lambden and Halyburton, to their own use, upon condition of their presenting a vicar to the said church whenever it should be vacant, and assigning to him a stipend of a hundred shillings per annum, and providing as usual for divine service in said chapels (Charter 309).

In order to understand the assistance given to the monks by this permission, it is necessary to keep in mind that Grenelaw Church was held by the monks *in rectoriam*, that is as a rectory. The rectorial tithes consisted of tithes of corn—the tenth sheaf taken from the harvest field—and that always before the farmer was allowed to carry his corn. The smaller tithes consisted of tithes of hay, of the yearly produce of the stock, the produce of the dairy, of the garden, of fowls, and of almost everything kept. But in addition to these sources of emolument, there was a considerable part derived from the offerings at the great festivals, dues from marriages, baptisms, funerals, etc. From this summary of the church revenues of a parish it is at once apparent that the monks of Kelso would receive considerable relief by such an arrangement of the incomes as that made in the case of Grenelaw Church and its chapels.

The 100 shillings to be paid to the vicar by the foresaid arrangement was sterling money,

English and Scots money being then of equal value. The vicar's stipend of £5, according to the standard adopted by Hallam in his *State of Europe in the Middle Ages* would be equivalent to £100 at the present day, in its relation to the commodities of the time.

About the time when permission was given to the monks by the Bishop of St Andrews, they had in Grenelaw parish half a ploughgate of land worth two merks annually, usually held by the vicar, another half ploughgate held by Allan, son of Mathew, also two oxgangs with toft and croft near the church, and five acres in another quarter, held by Richard de Grenelaw, for a mark and a half per annum. An oxgang of land was 13 acres in the Merse. A ploughgate was eight oxgangs or 104 acres. Reckoning according to these measurements, the quantity of church land belonging to the monks in the parish would amount to 135 acres, besides the toft and croft near the church.

At Lambden they had an annual rent of a pound of pepper from the estate of William de Lambden. In the Books of Exchequer, 1596, valuations of blench fermes, a pound of pepper is valued at thirty shillings.

In the Rent Roll of the Abbey made up about 1290, the value of Greenlaw Rectory is set down at £26, 13s. 4d. per annum. And in

the ancient *Taxatio*, a tax roll of church benefices in the thirteenth century, Grenelaw Church was rated at 45 merks (£30) per annum. In the Bagimond's Roll, a valuation of the ecclesiastical benefices of Scotland made up in 1275, the tenth of the Grenelaw benefice is rated at £3, 6s. 8d. yearly.

From a rent roll of Kelso Abbey, made up about 1567, we extract a statement of the revenue drawn from the kirk of Greenlaw, with the places tithed and the tithes payable by each. The statement, of course, covers a period long prior to the date of making up the roll. The literal spelling of the names is given :—

"The kirk lands of Girnlaw, 54s. 3d., Betshule and Vitfute, In beir 3 bolls, in meill 7 bolls—10 bolls. Halyburton, Eisterscide, In beir 3 bolls, in meill 7 bolls—10 bolls. Halyburton Vestersyde, In beir 3 bolls, in meill 6 bolls—9 bolls. Grenladen and Pokye Huich, In beir 4 bo., in meill 12 bo.—1 chalder. Vesterraw, In beir 4 bo., in meill V bo.—9 bo. Brumhill, In beir 4 bo., in meill 8 bo.—12 bo. The tofts of Grenelaw : Nicol Alexander's croft, In meill 1 bo. David Brounfield's croft, In meill 1 bo. Robert Paterson's croft, In beir 3 firlots. The Symthis croft, In beir 3 firlots. Alexander Redpath's croft, In beir 1 firlot. Flurislawis, In beir 1 bo., 3 firlots. John Brounfield's Pairt, In beir 1 bo., 2 firlots, in meill 3 bo.—4 bo. 2 firlots. The Laird of Grenlawis Pairt, In beir 1 bo. 2 firlots, in meill 2 bo. 2 firlots—4 bo. Lambden with Puddenraw, In beir 8 bo., in meill 12 bo.—1 chalder 4 bo. The Tunrik, In beir 4 bo., in meill 6 bo.—10 bo. John Spences' steading,

In beir, 2 bo., in meill, 6 bo.—8 bo. Murschote, In beir, 2 bo., in meill, 4 bo.—6 bo. Alvodlaw, In beir, 1 bo., in meill, 3 bo.—4 bo. Rowiston, In beir, 10 bo., in meill, 1 chalder 8 bo.—2 chalders, 2 bo. Angelraw, In beir, 2 bo., in meill, 6 bo.—8 bo. Tuinrige, In beir, 2 bo., in meill, 4 bo.—6 bo. Eisterhalaw, In beir, 4 bo., in meill, 8—12 bo. Vesterhalaw, In beir, 4 bo., in meill, 8 bo.—12 bo. Howlawheid, In beir, 2 bo., in meill, 3—5 bo., Bellishill with Grinlaw Croft, In beir, 2 bo., in meill, 4 bo.—6 bo. Howlawrig Easter, In beir, 2 bo., in meill, 3 bo.—5 bo. Howlawrig Vester, In beir, 2 bo., in meill, 4 bo.—6 bo. Auld Grinlaw, In beir, 2 bo., in meill, 6 bo.—8 bo. Slegdene, In beir, 2 bo., in meill, 7—9. Harden, In beir, 2 bo., in meill, 4—6 bo. The Totrige, In beir, 2 firlots, in meill, 1 bo. 2 firlots—2 bo. The Vodhead, In beir, 2 bo., in meill, 6 bo.—8 bo. The Eastfield, In beir, 2 bo., in meill, 4 bo.—6 bo. The IIII Merk Land, In beir, 1 bo., in meill, 3 bo.—4 bo. The Quheitsyde, In beir, 3 bo., in meill, 3 bo.—6 bo. Edward Brounfeild's Steid, In beir, 2 bo., in meill, 6 bo.—8 bo. The Neuke, In beir, 1 bo., in meill, 2 bo.—3 bo. Cotmos, In beir, 2 bo., in meill, 1 bo. 2 firlots—3 bo. 2 firlots.

Summa Ordei, V chal. VI bo. ij f.
Summa Ferine xij chal. v bo.
Totalis, xviij chal. iiij bo. ij f.
Sum of beir, 5 chal. 6 bo. 2 firlot.
Sum of Meill, 12 chal. 5 bo.

"Total, 18 chal. 4 bo. 2 firlot."

(There is a discrepancy in the numbers of the summation, but they are given as they stand in the rent-roll.)

The rentals of the benefices given in at the Reformation were mostly under their true

value. The yearly value of the Greenlaw kirk lands, as set down in the above rental, intimates either a nominal rent, or fewer lands than were at one time possessed. It was quite usual for persons holding church lands under abbeys to hold them as kindly tenants, paying a low rent.

Kelso Abbey benefice, which, of course, included Greenlaw kirk lands and tithes, passed into the hands of the crown in 1537. After the reformation, church lands and tithes with certain reservations were claimed by the crown. Kelso Abbey lands for some time were held by commendators, but after the forfeiture of the commendator, Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell, in 1592, the benefice remained for a short time in the hands of the king.

In 1593 the king granted to Alexander Brounfield of Eastfield and his heirs, Greenlaw church lands, rectorial and vicarial, with houses and glebes, viz. :—One part of the lands rectorial near the church (within the lands of the lord of Wadderlie, Trotters croft and moor of Greenlaw) ; a second part near Cawchesterlaw (within the said Alexander's lands of Eastfield, and lands called Tenendrie, lying towards Lord Home's lands) ; lands vicarial within Auld Greenlaw lying towards William Redpaths of Greenlaw and Parkis Walls, in

the territory of Greenlaw and county of Berwick[1] (*R. G. S.*, 2343).

In 1594 Patrick Mauchline in Bellishill, and Mariota Hoppringle, his wife, had a grant from the king of the lands of Bellishill, with the annex called the Bus, occupied by Patrick and his sub-tenants. These consisted of Bellishill between the lands of Holyrig lying towards William Redpath of Greenlaw, the Spring, the Bakwell above the lands of Gibbishill, lying towards Robert Brounfield of Todrig, the said Robert's lands, viz., the east and west lands, the Nunmyre and Fowlschotlaw, lying towards Sir Alexander Home's, the east dyke which divides the Law Meadowis of the said Sir Alexander Home from the Fernybeddis, occupied by the said Patrick, and other specified boundaries; the Bus between said William's lands of Nuk, etc., within the town and territory of Greenlaw, which formerly were part of the temporal lands of the monastery of Kelso. And (said the Charter) as the said Patrick and his predecessors were original tenants as far back as the memory of man could go, the king incorporated the lands into the tenantry of Bellishill: to be held by the said Patrick and Mariota in joint fee, and their

[1] These details indicate the localities of the lands; Cawchesterlaw may be set down as what is now called Piers Knowe—Priest's Knowe.

heirs, with liberty to build mills on the Blakburne, to construct a water-course, to have pasturage and turf, etc., on Greenlaw Common. Reddendo, fermes and service according to custom (*R. G. S.*, 150).

On 17th August 1602, William Kerr, son of Robert, Lord Roxburgh, who was commendator of the abbey, appointed procurators to resign the teinds great and small, personage and vicarage, of the whole parish and parish church of Greenlaw, with all the duties thereof in the king's hands, in favour of Sir George Home (afterwards Earl of Dunbar), (MSS., Earl of Home). In 1606 the Earl, then Lord of Greenlaw barony, had charter of the lands and teinds of Greenlaw kirk, which charter was confirmed by Parliament. In 1607, the possessions of Kelso Abbey were erected into a temporal lordship, in favour of Robert, first Earl of Roxburgh. Amongst other exceptions were the lands and teinds of Greenlaw kirk, as belonging to George, Earl of Dunbar (*Acts of Scots Parliament*).

According to Morton in his *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, the "teinds of Greenlaw kirk were valued about 1630 or 1633 at 2200 merks, Scots, of which were paid to the minister of the parish, 200 merks and 2 chalders of beir, leaving in the hands of the proprietor of the lands a rest of 1600 merks."

Grants of church lands ultimately passed into the absolute possession of the grantees, or their heirs, and so became "part and parcel" of their private estates. In this way, the church lands—as such—of Greenlaw parish have disappeared.

The present state of the teinds in Greenlaw parish according to the latest Parliamentary Return, as quoted in the *Church of Scotland Year Book for* 1902, is — stipend, £353, including glebe, with a manse. Free teind, £663.

CHAPTER IV

DEDICATION OF THE CHURCH—PATRON SAINT

The church of Greenlaw was dedicated on 4th April 1242, by David de Bernham, Bishop of St Andrews, in which diocese the Merse was then included. The dedication is entered in a Pontifical belonging to the diocese, in which is contained a list of the churches and chapels dedicated by Bishop David during his episcopate.

The question of patron saint is usually involved in the idea of dedication. In the dedication of Greenlaw church there is no mention of its being then placed under a patron saint. That it was so placed, however, there is a strong probability, almost certainty. Although a number of churches previously had patron saints, the formal attachment of saintly patronage is a work of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. This renders it the more probable that at its dedication Greenlaw church would

be placed under saintly patronage. Unfortunately the name of the saint has not been handed down.

In the absence of this information, I am disposed to suggest that the name may be found inferentially in the terms of the charter given in December 1596 by James VI. to Sir George Home of Spott, granting the privilege of holding two half-yearly fairs in Greenlaw, the first to be held on the 3rd of May (the Halycroce or St Helen's day); and the second on the 8th September (Lady day), [p. 18].

Now a great many old fairs are held on a patron saint's day—in fact, many of the patron saints are kept in memory only by the fairs held under their names. Is it not probable that the 3rd of May was selected in the charter referred to as being the day of the patron saint? Otherwise, why make mention of a saint's day at all? If it was in accordance with the custom of holding fairs on saints' days, then surely the saint's name would be understood as associated with the church as its patron. I select St Helen as the more personal name, and also because it was on her day that the reddendo for Auld Grinlaw burgh was given. A case in point occurs in the adjoining parish of Polwarth. In a royal charter to Sir Patrick Home of Polwarth in 1669, he was given the privilege of holding

two half-yearly fairs at Polwarth, one on the 13th of January, the other on the 24th of August. The 13th of January is the anniversary of St Mungo, the patron saint of Polwarth church.

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCH FABRIC

That the present church building is on the site of the original stone church, built at the present Greenlaw in pre-Reformation times, there can be little or no doubt, as there is not the smallest vestige or indication of there having been another church site. Confirmation of this, as also of the lengthened time it has been built upon, is found in the discovery of two floors below the present one, in which floors were also remains of former burials.

A paper contributed to the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club by the Rev. John H. Walker describes a discovery made in 1848, when a stove was placed in the church. "It was found" (says the writer), "on making the drain required for cold air, that as it (the church) stands, it has three floors, and that on the lowest, about three feet underneath the present floor, there have been interments, and are still monumental stones, one of which required to

be lifted and removed in excavating the drain."[1]

And in making excavations in the interior of the church in 1883 numerous portions of human skeletons were found, pointing to frequent burials having taken place.[2]

There is also strong reason for believing that the pre-Reformation church was standing in 1675. At that date it is described as having a vault—a room or chamber with arched roof connected with porch and pend (porch). This adjunct of a porch in church buildings existed from an early date, and was common in pre-Reformation churches. It is not, however, to be understood in the modern sense as being merely a protection from the weather, but it formed a portion of the church fabric, for church purposes. In these porches in early times catechumens were taught and penitents received. Baptismal fonts came to be placed there, relics were occasionally exhibited, and sometimes interments took place in them. This period, to

[1] At the back of the church, close to the east wall of the aisle, there is a singular tombstone with a neat double line incised Latin cross on it, the lines being about two inches apart. At the head of the stone there are the letters A. H. on the left side, and the letters I. L. on the right side. This is the only stone of the kind in the churchyard, and we believe it is the one removed from the floor.

[2] Several coins were also found, one of them being a French coin of the reign of Louis XIII. (1610-43).

which the building is referred, is supported by the thickness—four feet—of the portion of the old walls left standing when the fabric was partly rebuilt at the above date. At this date (1675) the building underwent a restoration and reconstruction to an extent not consistent in point of time with the supposition of its having been built at the Reformation. We are not to suppose that immediately after that event there began a movement for the building of Protestant churches. Matters required first to be brought into a settled condition. The grantees of churches and teinds at the time of the Reformation often neglected to keep the country kirks in suitable repair, and they would be more likely at this period to repair the old than to build new churches.

The changes effected on the church fabric in 1675 will be seen from the following extracts taken from the contract for the work. "To take doune the vault and pend and the whole south side wall, and so much of the two gables as shall be found fattie . . . and make ain frie ground for the insoles to build upon, half an elln at leist deeper than any grave, and if it be neidful dieper still. . . . Build the south syde wall fra the ground, and make it two feet higher, nor the using stones is presently; build therein doors and four large windows in

said wall, and repair the north syde wall as high as the south syde wall. Build up the two gables and (put) ane door and ane window in the wester gable and ane bell house . . . with dome for ane bell of four or five hundred merks pryce and build the easter gable with ane window therein."

The heritors were to furnish all the materials, and the whole work was to be done "for the soume of three hundreth merks."

The reference to the depth of the foundation of the south wall, to its having to be "dieper than any grave," probably refers to graves within the church near the wall, which might affect the foundation.

The belfry mentioned which was to contain "ane good bell of four or five hundreth merks pryce" evidently had reference to the bell to be provided under the will of Thomas Broumfield, farmer in Greenlawdean, 1667.[1]

The next alteration on the building was in connection with the erection of the court house and prison (known also as the church tower) in 1712. It appears that the church was then extended towards the west to its present length. Either then or shortly afterwards, alterations were made in the south wall. The windows were increased to thirteen —six below and seven above—and the doors

[1] See Broumfield Bequest, p. 124.

reduced to one, which was placed in the centre. This arrangement is shown in a view of the church as it was in 1771. The east and west lofts were put up not later than 1721 (Church Division 1784). The access to them was by trap ladders. In June 1727, there is an entry about "mending the kirk ladders."

Shortly after 1784, as inferred from the Division process of that date, in which were suggestions of improvements, the old north loft was put up. On the front of it was placed the Marchmont coat-of-arms. Access to the loft was by a stair at each end. The old outside stone stair leading to the east loft was probably put up at the same time. The church sittings were also renewed more or less, and these served till 1883. An addition was made in 1856 in the form of an aisle at the back wall of the church.

In 1883 the entire under part of the church, with the exception of the aisle, was reseated with pews of modern style. The pulpit was also modernised and the canopy removed. This latest renovation of the interior of the church included the erection, within the church, of a stair leading to the easter loft. At the same time the outside stair which led to the same loft was taken down, and thus was removed an interesting building adjunct of old

country churches of which few specimens remain.

Reference has been made to a process for a legal division of the church, begun in 1781 and decided in 1784. In the course of the pleadings there were some interesting references to the sittings and general condition of the interior of the church, applicable also to most of the country kirks of the time.

In these pleadings it was said "that the parishioners were clamorous with respect to the bad repair of the church and the ill accommodation for seats. . . . That on the late occasion of celebrating the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper the state of the church produced the most shameful disorder and confusion. . . . And that a church could hardly be in a more ruinous and disgraceful condition."

The church was neither ceiled nor plastered. The rafters were of rough unwrought wood, just trees with their branches cut off, as was seen when the aisle was built in 1856. Undoubtedly the roof would be a thatched one. Evidence of this is still traceable in the indications of skew plaster work on the outside of the tower staircase, above the ridge of the church. In the area of the church the sittings were imperfect and thinly placed. There was no regular plan of sittings; each heritor put up his own seat, and if he desired a loft above

it he might put it up, all at his own expense. There was no legal allocation of sitting room, just a system of irregular placing of seats, probably mostly movable in accordance with the personal tastes of those who erected them. The sitting room thus taken up gradually grew into a claim of use and wont. This much may be inferred from the pleadings in the case.

The east and west lofts, which had existed since 1721, were not divided nor occupied as belonging to particular persons. (Previous to the Reformation there were no sittings in churches.) Few persons sat in the west loft, but the east was said in the process to have "always been the resort of the rabble frequently to the disquiet of the congregation.' ("Rabble" was the name usually applied to the commonalty in those days.)

The deliverance of the case, pronounced on 18th November 1784, was to the effect that the area of the church should be divided amongst the heritors according to their respective rentals or valuations and cess thereon. Each heritor was to be at the expense of erecting his own seat and gallery, and the expense incurred in taking down and putting up the movable seats at the sacraments was to be proportionally distributed. In the division, the space that fell to John Wait (who

possessed a house and two small fields in Todholes), was four square inches, just about the room that was taken up by the sparrow and the swallow in the Jewish temple of old.

CHAPTER VI

DEPENDENT CHAPELS

Lambden

Reference has been made to the chapels dependent on Greenlaw mother church. Lambden chapel is first noticed in a grant by Robert, Bishop of St Andrews, to Walter de Strivelyn, to have a church in his village of Lambden, upon the petition and concession of Earl Cospatrick, of whose feu and estate the village was a part. In the preface to the printed chartulary by Cosmo Innes, the probable date is given as 1158. If, however, the date of the first mention of Greenlaw Church is correctly given as 1147 the chapel must have been founded not later, as it was given to the monks with Greenlaw Church.[1] This grant of privilege of chapel was different from the privilege of private chapel. The latter was limited to the household of the grantee; the former was for all on the grantee's property, as

[1] See page 26.

expressed in the terms "a chapel within his village." All the worshippers, however, were required to attend the parish church on the great festivals, and pay to it all baptismal and funeral dues. The preamble of the grant "on the petition and concession of Earl Cospatrick" intimates that as feudal lord, the privilege of chapel required also his consent. Such chapels were usually made dependent on parish churches. This would lead to Lambden Chapel being made dependent on the church of Greenlaw as the mother church. That connection being formed, the chapel necessarily went along with the mother church in any grant made of it by the patron, unless expressly excepted. John de Lambden, son of Walter de Strivelyn, gave to the monastery of Kelso "a toft and croft," also eight acres of land, four of which were in Moritlaw and the other four in Arthur's croft. This was about 1160 and 1200 (Charters 296, 297, and 298).

The only chaplains whose names we have noticed are William, about 1160, and Nigel, about 1200.

The above John de Lambden was the first who assumed a surname from the lands of Lambden. He witnessed a charter of Robert Muscampus to William de Greenlaw about 1200[1] (Melrose Charter 232). One of his

[1] See Greenlaw Family.

descendants, Henry de Lambden, was chamberlain of Kelso Abbey for some time up till 1260. In that year he went to Rome and brought a rescript from the Pope, deposing Patrick the Abbot and appointing himself in his place. He held the office till 1275, when he died from apoplexy at the dinner table. The monks regarded his death as a visitation of God for what he had done (Preface to *Kelso Charters*).

Lambden Chapel stood in a field south of the old mansion-house of Lambden, and it seems to have existed as a place of worship down to the Reformation. A cemetery appears to have been attached to the chapel.

Halyburton

From an early time there existed a chapel at Halyburton. It is first mentioned in a grant to David the son of Tructe, the first recorded Lord of Halyburton, in which he gives to the mother church at Greenlaw, and the monks of Kelso, the church of his vill of Halyburton, with a toft and croft and two oxgangs of land, and "all for the sake of his lord Cospatrick the Earl" (Kelso Charter 268). Cosmo Innes, in the preface to *Kelso Charters*, places the grant about 1160, and Morton, in his *Domestic Annals of Teviotdale*, assigns it to the reign of David I., 1124-53.

This charter was confirmed by David's son, Walter, about 1230 (Charter 219). In the confirmation Walter speaks of the church under the name of chapel, and as dependent on the mother church at Greenlaw, and as given in that relationship to the monks.

That the chapel was originally a church, and as such independent, may be inferred from the fact that it appears in the ancient *Taxatio* of church benefices in Scotland in the beginning of the 13th century, where it is rated independently, at 4 merks annually. This, coupled with the fact of the church being David's absolute property, points also to the church existing nearly as early as the manor itself. After the church was given to the monastery it was placed in the class of chapels, the monks being responsible for the supply of divine service which was usually provided by the appointment of chaplains. Philip de Halyburton, grandson of Walter, confirmed the preceding grant, and about 1271 he resigned claim over the chapel (Charter 271).

It is interesting to notice that Edward II. presented a minister to the chapel on 9th July 1319, contemporaneously with presentations to some other churches.[1] The chapel as a place

[1] *Calendar of State Documents relating to Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 123.

of divine service would exist down to the Reformation.

We have no certain mention of any of the chaplains by name. The last chaplain may have been Charles Home, who was appointed reader for Hume Parish at the Reformation. His salary as reader was "the thyrd of the chaplainrie of Halyburton," amounting to £6, 13s. 4d. Scots.[1]

In the *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ* it is said that Charles Home "had the chaplainrie of Halyburton from 1567 till he was deprived 1st May 1577, but had it again from 1578 to 1585." His holding the chaplainry may account for his salary as reader at Hume being paid out of the revenues of the chaplainry. It also suggests that he may have been chaplain at Halyburton for some time prior, and down to the Reformation.

This Charles Home probably belonged to the noble family of Home. The Earl of Home was then proprietor of the third part of the lordship of Halyburton, and so was liable for the third part of its chapel revenue from the teinds. That the third part of the revenue should have been applied to the payment of the reader of Hume, was a misappropriation on the part of Lord Home in his own interest, he being

[1] List of Stipends at Reformation to Protestantism, Maitland Club.

the owner of the barony of Hume. How long it continued is not said, but in the *Book of the Assignation of Stipends*, 1574, Charles Home's stipend as reader at Hume is set down at £16 Scots, a common stipend for readers: and that he should have continued in the chaplainry of Halyburton as above stated is to be considered as the holding of a sinecure, as there was during these years a reader at Greenlaw Kirk, and the supply forthcoming did not also afford a reader for Halyburton Chapel.

The stated value of the chaplainry is thus incidentally brought out. A glebe, which may infer a manse, was attached to the chapel. One of the fields near the farm town was called the "Priest's Park."[1]

Halyburton chapel stood close to where the present farmhouse now stands. A small remaining portion of the chapel walls forms, for a short length, the lower part of the west wall of the garden, having been of course repaired. Unbroken tradition assigns a burying-ground to the chapel, situated in the field west of the farmhouse, sloping towards the Blackadder water, and indicated by a number of fine old trees. A stone said to have been taken from

[1] This on the authority of persons of the last generation, who had lived long at the place, although the name was unknown to their successors, new incomers. In this way many traditional landmarks are lost.

the churchyard is built into a wall of the farm steading, but it is without a trace of lettering.

There is much that is attractive in the appearance of Halyburton, with its large old trees surrounding the homestead, and its green meadows stretching away to the Blackadder. In former times, when there was less cultivation, it would offer a still more striking contrast to the surroundings.

As with Lambden Chapel, the chapel of Halyburton ceased to be used after the Reformation. Then, and for long afterwards, the clergy were too few to fill even the parish church pulpits. The great number of chapels existing throughout the country was a prominent feature of Popish times: there was certainly no want of church accommodation. These chapels were, of course, erected by the proprietors for the convenience of themselves and their dependents, the nature and frequency of Popish observances making it the more needful when the parish church was distant.

CHAPTER VII

MINISTERS WHO SERVED THE CURE

Of the priests who served the cure of the mother church before the Reformation, we have come across the names of only three. The first is Nigel, about 1159. The second appears in the list of persons in the Ragman's Roll, who swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick on 28th August 1296. He is entered as "Nicol de Camp, Vicaire del Eglise de Grenelawe"—vicar of the church of Greenlaw. In return he was restored to his vicarage with its rights. He was still vicar in 1316. The third priest is William Grahame. In 1394 he petitioned the Pope for a benefice in the gift of the Abbot and Convent of Paisley, notwithstanding that he had "the perpetual vicarage of Grynlaw in the diocese of St Andrews."[1] A fourth name may

[1] *Petitions to the Pope*, vol. i., A.D. 1342-1419. From the Calendar of Entries relating to Great Britain and Ireland, edited by W. H. Bliss.

very probably be added—that of Johne Afflek. He is one of a list of priests—described as being of their respective parishes—who, in 1569, were summoned to appear before the Privy Council to answer certain charges (not stated). That Johne Afflek had been of the Romish persuasion is shown by his designation of "Freir Johne Afflek." Friars did not hold parish cures, but Johne may have been in priest's orders, and so qualified to hold a cure. That he was in Greenlaw so soon after the Reformation suggests the very probable inference that he had been serving the cure of the parish before, and like many Romish priests had gone in with the change, and become reader under the reformed condition of the parish.

At the Reformation the number of Protestant ministers was far short of what was required to fill the vacant pulpits. To supply the want, a class of probationers called readers and exhorters was appointed to a number of the vacant kirks. Their duties were to read the common prayers and the scriptures, baptise children, and to "make marriages after due proclamation of the banns." This last, however, was latterly prohibited. Many former Romish priests became readers. Greenlaw Church was served by a reader, and for the reasons above given we are disposed to set down "Freir Johne Afflek" as the first reader. The next

reader—the first according to a "List of Stipends at the Reformation," Maitland Club —was "William Fraser, reidare at Grenelawe." His stipend, £16 Scots (£1, 6s. 8d. sterling), was "payit out of the third of Kelso Abbey teinds be the taxman or parochines of Greenlaw, 1569." Upon the supposition that the issue of the case against Johne Afflek was the deprivation of the office of reader, we have here in William Fraser's holding of the office a coincidence of dates, the one a deprivation of office, the other a successive appointment.

In order, as far as possible, to make up for the deficiency of having parishes supplied only by readers, a systematic plan, suggested by the Regent Morton, was adopted in 1574, of combining three or four or even a greater number of contiguous churches under one minister, with the assistance of a reader, to serve each parish. In pursuance of this arrangement, Home, Stitchell, Gordon, Eccles, and Greynlaw, with a reader to each, were placed under the superintendence of Robert Franch, minister of Eccles, who had a stipend of £86, 13s. 4d. Scots (£7, 4s. 5½d. sterling), with the kirk lands. Each reader had £16 Scots. Under this arrangement William Fraser was continued reader at Greenlaw till 1590. How the cure was served from 1590 till the appointment of

the first minister we have no information to show.

1606. The First Minister was David Home, who was translated from Chirnside in 1606. He was a man of activity and ability, as appears from the part he played in the troublous times of the church. He was a staunch Presbyterian, and stood against the Episcopal innovations sought to be thrust on the kirk by King James and his bishops. When he was nominated constant Moderator of Dunce Presbytery by the Assembly of Linlithgow, he was as averse to accept the office as the Presbytery was to submit to it. But at last, under threats, the latter consented to receive him. He demitted the office shortly afterwards at the bidding of the Synod of Merse and Teviotdale (Dr Hugh Scott's *Fasti*).

Speaking about giving the sacrament on Pasch day and the insistance that it be given by the minister's own hand, Row in his history says: "David Home of Grinlay, Moderator of Presbytery, answered Bishop William of Edinburgh, and announced that the wrath of God would come certainly upon him for insisting so vehemently on ministers doing contrary to the word of God."

For his resistance to Episcopal innovations,

Mr Home was called before the Court of High Commission in 1620. He is frequently mentioned by Calderwood in his *History of the Church of Scotland.*

Mr Home was a commissioner along with Mr John Weymes, minister at Dunse, Sir David Hoome of Wedderburn, Sir Patrick Hoome of Ayton, Sir John Hoome of Blacadder, and Sir Arthur Nisbett of that ilk, appointed under the Signet at Edinburgh, 16th March 1624, "to search for, apprehend, and detain in sure ward Archibald Liddell in Eyemouth, Barbara Flint, his spouse, and Isobel Falconer, spouse to Patrick Sinclair, Eyemouth, who had been long suspect and dilait to be witches and sorceraries." These persons were to be examined, and the depositions sent to the Lords of Council in writing.[1]

Mr Home acquired a feu right to the lands of Tennandrie (Greenlaw) in 1617.

Possessing means, he seems to have been a man of a liberal disposition. He put up a wooden bridge over the Blackadder at the head of the Wester-raw, where the first stone bridge was afterwards built.[2]

Mr Home died April 1637, aged 69. His free geir at his death amounted to £856, 6s. 8d. (Dr Scott's *Fasti*). His wife, Magdalane Craw,

[1] *Privy Council Records*, vol. xiii., 1622-25, p. 460.
[2] See Broumfield Bequest, p. 124.

predeceased him. She is mentioned in a deed of loan from David Home of Ramrig, April and July 1628. Mrs Home was liferenter of the "third part of the lands of the Westmaynes of Chirnside."[1]

1645. Robert Home, M.A., succeeded Mr David Home before 1645. He was translated from Ellem—a parish united to Longformacus in 1712. He was a student of St Leonard's College, St Andrews; in the register he is entered as being enrolled on the 10th day before the Kalends of January 1614 (23rd December 1613): graduated M.A. 1617. Mr Home was of the Homes of Greenlaw Castle, as his descendants in line possessed it down to 1738. Mr Home was a member of the Assembly's committee appointed to revise the Metrical Psalms (1650 edition). He was certainly possessed of means, as in the county records he is repeatedly noticed as advancing sums of money on loan. He died on the 12th December 1673, aged 79 (see *History of the Home Family*). During the period embracing the earlier years of Mr Home's incumbency, the superstitious belief in witch-

[1] In signing the deed "she signed with her hand touching the pen led be the Notar's underwritten, because she could not wryte."—*Berwickshire County Records*, Deeds, vol. iii., p. 159.

craft was strong in the parish, and all who were accused of the sin and crime were prosecuted with the utmost rigour. A commission was issued to Mr George Hoome of Kimergem and remanent commissioners "to minister justice vpon Agnes Ankrem, and Johne Hill and his spouse, accused of the cryme of witchcraft." The commissioners were directed how to proceed: "Being" (says the commission) "desirous that their tryell may not be informall but vpon sume well grounded evidentes, wee thought fitt heirby to recommend to your special care that notwithstanding any special confessions emitted by the parties befor ecclesiasticall judge, you would appoint two or one at least of your number to repare to the parties with some of the ministers befor whom they formerly confest, and cause them to renew their confessioun in thair presence without giveing notice that commissioun is given against them, that so confessioun being made befor some of your number (thoughe the parties sould therefter receide from the same) you may better know how to prosecute the commissioun in a formall way."[1]

What was the result of the trial I have not been able to find. The following trustworthy tradition relating to a case of witchcraft in the parish tends to confirm the probability that

[1] Historical Manuscripts Commission, Marchmont MSS.

conviction followed in the case of one or more of the accused.

The tradition is that an old woman living at Broomhill—she was said to be a woman of superior intelligence—was accused by some of the neighbours of being a witch. She was tried, condemned, and burned in a field on the south-east of the town, still called by the name of the "Gibbet Lea." According to the tradition she was brought down by the Wester-raw on the way to execution, and when about to cross the burn, opposite to Greenside she wished to have a drink of water. The crowd shouted, "Don't let her get a drink; the dryer she is she'll burn the better." And the poor wretch was hurried to her doom by a superstitious, merciless crew. Whatever may be said about the accuracy of the details, I think there is no doubt that the tradition witnesses to some such execution having taken place. And there is no improbability in the belief that the woman at Broomhill was either Johne Hill's spouse or Agnes Ankrem, who were charged with witchcraft by the aforementioned commission.

1674. JOHN HOME, eldest son of John Home, portioner of Kello, succeeded Robert Home. He was licensed by George, Bishop of Edinburgh, 17th June 1673, presented by

Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, 1674, admitted 10th May, collated 11th August 1674, deprived by the Privy Council 17th September 1689, for not reading the Proclamation of the Estates, and not praying for their Majesties, William and Mary, nor observing the thanksgiving. While serving in the meeting-house of Eyemouth he was deposed by the Presbytery of Chirnside, 29th April 1718, for giving baptisms to persons of scandalous character. On the 30th September following, they proposed laying the case before the Justices with an accusation of his not praying for King George. On the Justices declining to interfere with the "Act of Toleration," the Presbytery prosecuted him before the Court of Justiciary, when he was prohibited by the Circuit Court at Jedburgh, 29th May 1719 (Scott's *Fasti*).

Mr Home afterwards retired to Herdrig, a property in the parish of Eccles, long in the possession of a branch of the Homes. But even there his Jacobite proclivities brought him into trouble. On a representation from the General Assembly, the Government, on 30th November 1723, sent instructions to the sheriffs to enforce the law relating to the suppression of popish schools and seminaries within their bounds; to look after so-called Protestants who were seeking to promote the

interests of the popish pretender, "one great means of which is the erecting of meeting-houses contrary to law in many places, wherein the preachers neither pray for his Majesty and the Royal family, nor are qualified by taking the oaths to his Majesty as the law directs."

In obedience to this instruction the sheriff of Berwickshire summoned before him the Episcopal ministers within his bounds. And at a court held at Greenlaw on the 5th March 1721, there appeared John Home, described as "minister of ane episcopal congregation at Herdrig." In the course of the proceedings, Mr Home being interrogated whether or not he prayed for King George in express words, answered that he prayed as he always had done for the king and royal family, but did not name King George. "And being farder interrogated whether or not he prayed and preached in a meeting-house at Herdrig, answered that he had his dwelling-house there, which was likewise his chappell, and that his hearers, besides those of his own family, for some months past have not exceeded the number of eight at the time of service."

The issue of the case was, that the sheriff charged Mr Home to preach to no more than eight persons at one time, besides those of his own family, with certification that if he con-

travened, his chappell would be shut up, and he should be imprisoned for the space of six months.[1]

Mr Home does not appear to have been in any further trouble on account of his procedure.

Mr Home was married to Rachel, a daughter of Mr James Home, minister at Lennel. On the death of his father in 1680, he succeeded to the six husband lands of Kello; in 1710 he sold them to Mr George Home, Town Clerk of Edinburgh, for 13,600 merks Scots. Scott's *Fasti* says Mr Home was preacher at Herdrig in 1731.

1693. Archibald Borthwick, M.A., second son of Andrew Borthwick of Sauchselle, succeeded Mr Home. He was called October 1692, and ordained 21st March 1693.

Being chaplain of Lord Polwarth's dragoons, he was challenged by the Presbytery in 1708 for holding that office as being "contrary to our principles." The case was referred to the Commission in the spring of 1709, which held that no hurt came to Greenlaw parish, as the dragoons, wherever they were stationed, just availed themselves of the services of the parish ministers by waiting on their ministrations.

During Mr Borthwick's ministry, witchcraft

[1] Sheriff Court: Register of Decreets, 1722-25, p. 356.

again made its appearance, but in the milder form of charming away disease. The records of the Dunse Presbytery of 7th December 1703, contain a reference from the session of Greenlaw given in by Mr Borthwick "anent one Christian Wilkie, living in Angelraw, who was accused as being a charmer." The Presbytery appointed her to be cited before them, and at a meeting on 7th March 1704 she appeared. The records bear that, "being enquired anent her directions for curing Adam Alexander in Greenlaw parish of his sickness, confessed as she had done before the session of Grinlaw, that she had ordered him to go several mornings to a thorn bush and walk round about it, as also that she boiled three stones in water, and after they had been laid up above the door from the evening when they were boiled till the morning, she took them down, and putting them in cold water, caised it boyl. After all this the man recovered. Wherupon the Moderator enquired at her where and from whom she had learned these things, to which she replied, that in that part of the Highlands where she lived she saw it done, but never thought there was any ill in it."

The deliverance of the Presbytery was that all this proceeded from the want of the knowledge and fear of God, and appointed two

of their number to deal with her conscience to bring her to a sense of her sin, and ordered her to wait on the session of Grinlaw. The result of the session's dealing with Christian is not stated.

Mr Borthwick was translated to Polwarth 12th July 1706.

1707. David Brown, M.A., succeeded Mr Borthwick. He was called 31st December 1706, ordained colleague and successor 3rd June 1707, translated to Gordon 7th November 1708.

1711. James Gilliland, assistant at Gordon, the next minister, was called 5th September 1710, ordained 6th February 1711, died September 1724, in the 14th year of his ministry. He married (May 1719) Marjory, eldest daughter of Sir Alexander Purves, Bart. of that ilk (Purveshall).

1725. Thomas Turnbull, son of Mr George Turnbull, minister of Tyningham, succeeded Mr Gilliland. He was presented to the charge by Alexander, Earl of Marchmont, in January, and ordained 3rd August 1725. He was translated to Borthwick in 1734.

1734. JOHN HUME was the next minister. He was translated from Polwarth, and admitted 26th September 1734, died 13th December 1777, in the 77th year of his age and 51st of his ministry. His library was sold by Mr Elliot, bookseller, Kelso, for £11, 7s.

Mr Hume belonged to the noble family of Home. He was proprietor of Abbey St Bathans, which he resigned in 1757 (Retours). He left a daughter, Juliana. His son, George Home, Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, is named one of the heirs of the Marchmont estate in the will of Hugh, last Earl of Marchmont. Mr Hume published a volume of sermons in 1775, with a dedication to Elizabeth, last Countess of Marchmont. So far as is certainly known, Mr Hume was the first minister of the parish since the Reformation who was buried in Greenlaw churchyard. A tombstone was erected to his memory, but it was afterwards removed from its original place to allow the carrying out of some alterations to the church in 1856. It lay about uncared-for till it was taken possession of in March 1881, by one who claimed right to it, and who afterwards hewed off the inscription. This coming to the knowledge of Sir Hugh Hume Campbell, Bart. of Marchmont, the superior of the parish, he at once took steps to rectify, as far as possible, the evil done.

Fortunately, the greater part of the inscription had been previously copied by the author. The copied inscription was again put on the tombstone, which was also re-erected (but on a new site) at the north-east end of the church, where it now stands. All was done at the expense of the superior referred to. An entry was at the same time made in the heritors' books of what had been done, in order to secure as far as possible the authenticity belonging to the original. Thus the only tangible outstanding memorial of the life and death of a worthy minister narrowly escaped complete annihilation—a memorial which was the more interesting as being that of the first Protestant minister of the parish whose dust was certainly known to have been committed to its mother-earth under the shadow of the venerable church in which he had so long ministered.

1778. William Simpson[1] was John Hume's successor. He was presented by Hugh, Earl of Marchmont, ordained 3rd December 1778, translated to Swinton, 8th April 1799.

1799. John Stewart, Mr Simpson's successor, was presented by the trustee on the Marchmont estate, and admitted 26th Sep-

[1] See notice of Old Jail, p. 156.

tember 1799, and died 6th February 1804, in the 43rd year of his age and eighth of his ministry. He was buried in Greenlaw churchyard, where there is a tombstone to his memory.

The following reference is made to him in the "Autobiography of the Rev. William Arnot," Free High Church, Edinburgh :—

"I mentioned a few years ago to Principal Fairbairn, Free Church College, Glasgow, that my grand-uncle, Stewart, was minister of Greenlaw, his (Fairbairn's) native parish. When I next met him, he congratulated me on having come of a good kind, intimating that since I told him the fact, he had seen his mother and learned from her that Mr Stewart's ministry, though short, was faithful, and left a savour of Christ behind."

1804. James Luke was his successor. He was assistant to the Rev. Dr Hugh Blair, Edinburgh, and was appointed morning lecturer to the Town Council. He was presented to Greenlaw church by Mr Wauchope, trustee on the Marchmont estate, and ordained 30th August 1804. He died from the effects of a fall from his horse (an old Waterloo charger), 9th September 1820, in the 17th year of his ministry.

The following account of the accident we

have heard frequently from persons living at the time. He was coming home on the Monday evening, after the Communion Sabbath at Gordon, at which he had been assisting, or had gone thither on the Monday to see the minister. He fell from his horse in going up East Gordon brae, and broke his leg. With great difficulty, and suffering great pain, he managed to crawl to East Gordon farm steading, whence he was taken home in a conveyance. A few days afterwards, inflammation set in, resulting in his death. He was buried in Greenlaw churchyard, where a tombstone preserves his memory.

Mr Luke was in the habit of reading his sermons. On one occasion, when officiating at the outdoor services in the churchyard, at a summer communion, the wind blew the manuscript out of his hand. One of the hearers caught hold of it, and Mr Luke signed to him to hand it up. The possessor of the paper, however, having a strong dislike to the reading of sermons, and possibly rejoicing in the opportunity of testing the preacher's powers in the absence of his manuscript, quietly ignored the signs and retained possession. Mr Luke, it is said, stood the test well, going on with his sermon with much fluency and power to the close. Perhaps this incident revealed to him the possession of a latent

power, of which up to that time he had been unconscious.

Mr Luke farmed his glebe along with other lands. Being devoted to farming, he was naturally interested in horses and cattle. In those days it was common for droves of cattle, with horses among them, to pass through the town sometimes on the Sabbath days on their way to the south. One Sabbath evening one of these droves was passing through the town, when Mr Luke standing near his stable observed them passing and entered into conversation with the drover. A fine horse taking his fancy he said to the drover, "That's a fine animal; if this had not been the Sabbath evening I would have asked you what price you would be setting on it." The drover hinted the price he would take, and Mr Luke rejoined, "If this had not been the night it is, I would just have said I'll just give it." And the story goes that the bargain was completed.

The present manse was built in 1817 for Mr Luke, between whom and the heritors there was a serious difference about it, they being unwilling to build a new one, whilst he was determined on having it. The materials of the old manse were purchased by Mr James Lumsden, who built therewith a dwelling house for himself at the Wester Bridge (now possessed by Mr Rogerson). In its outward

appearance it is an exact reproduction of the style and form of the manse taken down.

1821. Abraham Home, of Windshiel, succeeded Mr Luke. He was previously minister at Ayton, and was presented by Sir William Purves Hume Campbell of Marchmont, in October 1820, and was admitted 29th March following. He demitted his charge on 28th May 1844, and his demission was accepted on the 31st of the same month. He died at Gunsgreen, Eyemouth, on 3rd May 1856, in the 81st year of his age and fifty-seventh of his ministry. He was buried in Greenlaw churchyard. Mr Home was a man of quiet, gentlemanly demeanour, and was much respected by his parishioners, although he did not shine as a preacher. Once, however, he was unfortunately tempted to deviate from the quiet tenor of his way.

It was at the time of the agitation for the Reform Bill of 1832. Mr Home was a Tory in politics, and consequently was opposed to the passing of the Bill. During the height of the agitation, he ventured one Sabbath to introduce the subject into his sermon when, in speaking of the condition of the working classes, he is said to have expressed the opinion "that a working man, after working all the day, ought to be content, although he should occa-

sionally be necessitated to go to bed without supper." This aroused the ire of most of the congregation, notably that of John Bellany, the keeper of an ale-house in the Wester Row, with the sign of the "Red Lion." He at once made signs to those in the seat above him to hand down his hat. These being responded to in whispers, advising him to sit still and make no disturbance, John in louder tones repeated his request for his hat. Still it was refused, till at last in a tone and gesture that admitted of no further parley, he said, "The d—l's in the folk, gie me bye my hat; d'ye think I'm to sit here and listen to the like o' that." So the hat was handed to John, who thereupon left the church in an excited state, leaving the people behind him scarcely less agitated.

The sermon became the theme of general talk throughout the parish, especially in the town. It was denounced in the most vigorous terms. The more fiery spirits resolved on getting up a demonstration against the pronouncement in the shape of a procession through the town, with an effigy of the obnoxious preacher.

The organising and carrying out of the details were undertaken by a number of young men belonging to the firm of Messrs Lumsden, millwrights, amongst whom John Mackenzie, an ardent Reformer, was the ruling spirit,

conjointly with Andrew Lewis, a young man of like stamp. There was great excitement as the evening drew near, and before the appointed hour a large crowd assembled at the Wester Bridge, where the procession was to start. Amidst the cheers of the crowd the procession moved off, with the effigy at its head, followed by John Mackenzie with an old battle-axe over his shoulder. The destination was the Easter Bridge opposite the manse. A rumour of what was proposed had reached the minister during the day, but the echoes of the noise of the crowd were the first certain evidence of its becoming realised fact. Fearing the worst, the occupants of the manse were thoroughly alarmed, and summoning the servants, they made arrangements for defence, ordered the doors to be locked, and the window shutters to be closed and barred, and in fear and anxiety awaited the arrival of the processionists. When the halting-place was reached, the leader, in a few words, explained the object of the demonstration—to express disapprobation of what had been said on the previous Sabbath. The effigy was then burned, a number of blank shots fired, and the crowd dispersed, no violence being offered either to the manse or its inmates, albeit they were thoroughly frightened. It was a lesson, however, which Mr Home did not forget, and he

never afterwards introduced politics into his sermons. But notwithstanding all that had happened, the feeling aroused died away in course of time, and Mr Home ultimately regained his former place in the estimation and regard of his fellow-townsmen. A large congregation, amongst them being a considerable number of members of the Secession congregation, who on that day had no service in their church, the minister being from home, assembled on the Sabbath to hear Mr Home preach his farewell sermon, which was from the words addressed by Paul to the elders at Ephesus: "Ye shall see my face no more."

Mr Home was a lineal descendant of Alexander Home of Kennetsideheads, one of the martyrs of the Covenant, who was executed at Edinburgh in 1682. Mr Home was married to a Miss Anderson, and had two sons, George and Patrick, and three daughters, Susan, Margaret, and Anne.

1844. John Hunter Walker succeeded. He was born at Kirkmahoe, Dumfriesshire, educated at Edinburgh University, licensed by the Presbytery of Penpont, and presented to the parish of Legerwood in 1834. He was translated to Greenlaw in 1844 under a presentation by Sir Hugh Hume Campbell, and died 26th June 1881, in the 81st year of his age and 48th

of his ministry. He was buried in Greenlaw churchyard. Mr Walker had a son, James, and three daughters. James entered the ministry, and was settled at Channelkirk; he afterwards emigrated to America.

Mr Walker in his younger days was a popular preacher. He belonged to the evangelical class of ministers, and was a man of learning and ripe attainments.

1882. The Hon. Arthur Gordon, M.A., son of Lord Advocate Gordon, afterwards one of the Lords of Appeal, followed Mr Walker. He was called 29th November 1881, and ordained 5th January 1882. He was translated to Kirknewton, Midlothian, 8th May 1886.

1886. Hugh MacCulloch, the present minister, translated from St Paul's Church, Leith, succeeded. He was called 23rd August, and inducted 23rd September 1886. Previous to his settlement in Leith, Mr MacCulloch was for two years minister of the Presbyterian church at Bancrana, Londonderry.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHURCH RECORDS

The extant kirk session records begin in 1648, the first certain date being 5th November. A few entries are apparently in October, but they are not quite legible. Onwards to 1659 there are occasional notices of a marriage, or of a marriage proclamation. From 1659 to 1719 there is a blank. In May 1719, separate books were got for entering collections, marriage and mortcloth dues, fines, and other receipts, and the disbursements. In these books, however, are also recorded a number of session minutes and references to different events. In the registers mothers' names are rarely inserted before 1721, and sometimes omitted after that date.

The register of baptisms begins on 8th April 1699. Births are inserted simply by the fact of baptism. A regular entry of marriage proclamation dues begins in 1780, and an occasional notice of marriage is inserted.

In 1820 there begins an entry of proclamations, and in 1831 a regular register of marriages. Up till then marriages are shown from the proclamations.

A separate register of mortcloth dues begins in 1780, and a more detailed one in 1820. Previously they are noted amongst other receipts. From these registers the facts of deaths are obtained, though occasionally deaths are noted. These registers, however, do not show all the deaths in the parish, as indigent parishioners were not charged for the use of the mortcloth at the burial of their relatives, and so such burials were not entered. And likewise in the case of baptisms: only those baptisms were recorded for which the recording fee of 4d. was paid. The baptisms of children whose parents were unable to pay the fee were not entered. This condition of matters is brought out in a return of the marriages, births, and deaths made out by the session clerk of the parish in 1801, in filling up his census schedules of the parish, covering a period of one hundred years.

A regular death register begins in January, 1831. The present compulsory and complete system began in 1854. Up till that time registrations were incomplete through the indifference of many concerned.

The earlier entries in the session records

relate mainly to matters of discipline, which covered a wide part of the life of the parish. The number of appearances made by the offenders in the place of repentance, as it is called, in face of the whole congregation, was much greater than the number of offences committed, which made matters look worse than they really were, as viewed from the standpoint of the number of offenders. In many cases the interference of sessions was very frivolous; disagreements between neighbours, speaking high words, scolding and such like, were offences visited with discipline. The session exercised control over all the persons in the parish, and none could claim exemption by repudiating membership of the church.

The following extracts will show the nature of the cases dealt with and the ground covered.

On 12th March 1649, the session had before them the feuds and quarrels of the lairds around Greenlaw—of Greenlaw Castle, Cowrig, Elwartlaw, Foulshotlaw, Home of Old Greenlaw, Broomfield of Tenandry and Greenlawdeane, and James Craw for the town of Greenlaw, which appears to have been mixed up in the quarrels. They "were ordained not to be removed from the place of repentance till they made redress to the

minister and elders, and show tokens of repentance."

On 20th April 1649, "Andrew Swyne, John Swyne, and Christian Knox, compeared for dancing on the Lord's day, confessed their faults, and promised to make public satisfaction next Sabbath day." On the same day, "Adam and John Brown were rebuked for playing at the Bullocks on the Sabbath day." On the 27th April there is the entry that John Swyne and Christian Knox "made public confession, and showed signs of repentance . . . and were received." There is no mention of Andrew.

A Margaret Waugh, on 6th May, compeared and "confest her not frequenting the circ." She was ordained to make public satisfaction next Sabbath before the congregation. Other two were at the same meeting cited for a similar offence. David Lillie was also before the court, and "denyed that he was fishing on the Sabbath day, but was from the kirk waiting on his beastis." His case was continued till "farder tryell." The session evidently wanted to sift David's statement. In December 1652, James Linen and William Halliday "compeared and confest to their drinking in the night time, ordained to make public satisfaction, conform to the Justice for penalties."

In 1654 there is an entry that "John Marjoribanks made his public repentance for having made a noise during the time of divine service." It is very probable that this would be no solitary instance. A great many of the hearers would at times understand little of what was preached and care less and, as there would be little sitting accommodation, the strain of standing or leaning during the long service would be too great a tax on their powers of endurance.

The following entry occurs in 1654: "James Redpath, for drinking in tyme of sermon, giving signs of repentance was receivat, he being a poor man." Had James been a rich man, the sincerity of his repentance would have been subjected to a pecuniary test. In the same year James Broomfield was summoned "for he and his wife selling ale in the tyme of service." So we see that Forbes Mackenzie is not altogether a modern legislator.

There are cases of persons having to make "public satisfaction" for refusing to sign the National Covenant. And the following is an extract from the records of 20th April 1649: "George Dougal of Crumrig, in presence of said congregation, humbling himself on his knees, did acknowledge that he was convinced in conscience of the unlawfulness of his own

judgement, and that he was heartily sorrow for going on in that service. And after public reading of the Covenant, he was admitted to receive and subscribe the same." On 28th March 1652, "compeared Thomas Wood, and offered himself to the will of the session for his disobedience in refusing to sign the Covenant. Ordainet him to make public satisfaction, and referred him to the Justices for penalties."

So the two conscientious recusants were amerced in penalties by two different authorities.

For breaches of the seventh commandment, offenders had to appear in the public place of repentance on successive Sabbaths. There are several entries relating to this. On 29th April 1649, a Samuel Dempster underwent this ordeal. Samuel had undergone four public appearances. There is also an entry on 15th April of the same year of one Marion Macdowal, who had paid a fine on her relapse, "and was this day removed from the public place of repentance, she having sitten on said place for ane year compleat, conform to the order of the Presbyterie, and that in sackcloth." There are other entries of fines of £2 Scots for the same offence.

Irregular marriages — that is, marriages "contrary to the established order of the kirk"— came under the same stern discipline. But

not only were offenders thus disciplined, they were also amerced in money penalties. These are regularly entered in the session receipts, of which they formed a considerable proportion.

In the extant records, these entries begin in 1720 (previously there is a wide blank). The first mentioned is on 17th April 1720, when one William Blaikie was fined 12s. On 30th April 1721, William Polwarth was subjected to a fine of £2 Scots for his irregular marriage with Jane Hunter. In the records of 20th November 1726 is the following: "Received half fine for the irregular marriage of John Bell and Isobel Dodds, £3."

The following is a record of 11th August 1728: "Received from Alison Marshall as her part of her penalty for her sin . . . committed with Archibald Armstrong, which the session accepted of, £1, 10s." And on 25th October of the same year there is this entry: "Received from Archibald Armstrong his penalty for his sin . . . committed with Alison Marshall, and likewise for scorning the kirk, which the session accepted of for both, £3." Archibald had dared to defy the kirk censorship, and, as was to be expected, he was unequal to the conflict, being brought to submission and amerced in an additional penalty for his hardihood. The penalties imposed for illicit intercourse varied from £1, 10s. to £4. The session exercised a

discretion as to the penalties, and occasional modifications were due to the poverty of the delinquents. Arrears there sometimes were, but seldom were they allowed to lapse though they had been due for years, as the following entry shows: "May 25, 1729. There was received from John Smith payment of his fine for his irregular marriage with Mary Robisone, which has been resting since December 13, 1719." As a last resource a compromise of the amount was sometimes made as intimated by the terms "accepted in full."

However sincere the repentance of the offenders, or manifest the tokens thereof, the due measure of them was not officially recognised without the payment of the fine. Absolution followed only on payment. Church censures continued to be inflicted concurrently with the exactions of penalties. In January 1720, there is the entry: "Paid for a new sark gown, £1, 11s." That the gowns required renewal intimates how systematically they were used.

It is to be kept in mind that, except in some minor matters, the kirk session in exacting money penalties were acting under statute law, a power which the Church always sought to have, and which the State was all too willing to give.

During the period we have covered there

were two Acts—passed in 1649—which were much in evidence: Acts against breaches of the Seventh Commandment, and against Irregular Marriages. In the case of the former, the fines ranged from £400 (Scots) to £10 according to rank in life, and were exacted from both man and woman, double fines being inflicted in case of relapse. In the latter case the penalties varied from £5000 (Scots) to 500 merks, also according to the station in life, with the addition of three months' imprisonment. These penalties were to be "without prejudice to the censure of the kirk." The penalties against immorality were recoverable by members of kirk session authorised to prosecute, while in the case of irregular marriages the Procurator for the kirk was to pursue before the civil judges. The fines recovered were "to go to the kirk sessions of the parochines where the offenders live, to be employed by them upon pious uses."

From what has been stated, it will be seen that many of the penalties would be exigible by the kirk session, whilst in cases of prosecution at the instance of the Procurator, the penalties would be paid over to the kirk session, most probably by the persons fined, as we know was done in other similar circumstances in the Baillie Court decisions.

That this was so may be certainly inferred

from the formula of the receipts: "Received from A. B.," "Received from C. D.," which they "accepted in full." The double score of church censure and civil penalty would thus be cleared off at one and the same time.

The system of church discipline by the imposition of fines was acted on in some cases (apparently with persons of means) down to 1808, presumably then on the kirk session's own initiative, but traceable to the influence of the previous practice.

CHAPTER IX

CHURCH RECORDS—THE COLLECTIONS

In 1719 a book was got to record the receivings and disbursements separately from the discipline. Down to 1772 the accounts were kept in Scots money. But in the detailed accounts, sterling is repeatedly mentioned—first in April 1729. Merks Scots are mentioned only in 1719, 1720, 1721, and 1724.

The entries of the collections begin on 3rd May 1719. The first entry is "The collectors gave in their collections for the month, £6, 19s." For the first few years the collections were entered monthly. Some noticeable features of the collections are the nature of the purposes, and the distance of the places for which special collections were made. In the case of sufferers by fires, collections were made, not only for such in the parish, but also for others in distant parishes, such as Yetholm in 1720, Dunse in 1723, and Kelso in 1739. In the

absence of the powers of our Roads and Bridges Acts and other rating authorities, the means of communication throughout the country and other works of general utility were largely assisted, and in some instances entirely provided, from collections made in churches. These were sometimes made under proclamations by Act of Parliament and Acts of Privy Council.[1]

On 5th October 1729, there was "collected for the harbour of St Andrews £7, 10s."; 3rd March 1773, "Given out of the box for a hoiss boat over the Whitadder £4." 18th March 1784, "Collected for repairing the bridges at Chirnside and Gainslaw, 6s. 11¼d." Collections were likewise made for such purposes as the following: May, 1721, "For the Protestants of Saxony, £13." March, 1723, "To help to build a meeting house in Belfast for the dissenters there, £6." May 1725, "In relief of the Presbyterians of New York £7, 4s." In July 1789, £3, 3s. 3d. sterling was collected for the building of Kelso Dispensary; and in 1794, £6, 2s. 1¾d. sterling for the benefit of the Dunse Dispensary. There were also collections for other hospitals and charities.

[1] In 1619 David Home, minister of Greenlaw, moderator of the Presbytery of Duns, was one of a Commission of seven ministers to assist noblemen and others, barons, etc., to raise funds to repair the Brig of Linton. *Records of Privy Council*, vol. xii., p. 36.

Collections were made for the sufferers in the French wars. In December 1805, there was collected for the Trafalgar fund £6, 11s. 1¾d.; and in December 1815 for the Waterloo fund, £18, 5s. 2d. In 1813, £1, 12s. 2d. was given out of the box for the Russians who suffered from the French invasion.

We are indebted to the record of collections for an interesting item of information. The collections on 16th September 1832 are thus recorded: "Collected, the Speaker of the House of Commons[1] being in the church, £1, 9s. 6¾d." The amount was fully six times above the average collection, so the distinguished stranger may be credited with having put a guinea into the ladle. This, with the presence of such a notable personage in their midst, would make that Sabbath service one to be remembered. Imbedded amongst the collection entries is the following interesting information: 21st April 1723, "There was read from the pulpit by the minister a Proclamation by the King for a Public Thanksgiving for our Preservation from being infected with the plague, to be observed 25 April currt."

It is of some interest to notice the amounts of the collections, premising that the population of the parish in 1755 was 895, and in 1785, 1210, and that after the last-mentioned

[1] The Hon. Charles Manners Sutton.

year the Secession Church was planted in Greenlaw.

From 1719 to 1751 they varied from 15s. 6d., occasionally less, Scots money (about 1s. $3\frac{1}{2}$d. sterling), to 48s., occasionally higher (4s. sterling), and during these years the variations were considerable. In 1772 they ranged from 2s. $8\frac{1}{2}$d. to 4s. 2d. (now sterling money); in 1773, from 1s. 5d. to 2s. 7d.; in 1774, from 1s. 4d. (once 1s.) to 2s. 7d. There was little improvement towards the end of the century, though they sometimes rose to 5s. and 6s.; 2s., 3s., and 4s. being common amounts. Down to 1835 the collections showed no great advance.

One very commendable feature of the collections, however, is their great increase at Sacrament times. On the fast days and preaching days they were usually double, and on the Sacrament days frequently five times, in some cases ten times larger than on ordinary days. This increase of giving certainly meant more than a fitting and needful increase of liberality; it meant likewise a much larger attendance on these occasions, which also was a distinctive feature of those times.

A considerable amount of non-current coin, doits, and bad halfpence, found its way into the collections. The first mention of it is on 5th February 1738, when "bad money which

had for some time been in Robert Young's hands was given up." On the same date "there was sold £42, 17s. of bad halfpence and doits weighing 48 lbs., at tenpence per pound, realising £24 current money, being a loss of £18, 17s." In the same year there was a loss of 16s. on £1, 8s. of bad money.

In the years from 1740 down to 1767 inclusive—omitting the years 1744-5, 1753-4, and 1766, in which years there is no reference to bad money—the amount of non-current coin in the collections varied from £2, 2s., to as high as £59, 4s., all Scots money. In the exchange of the bad coin the loss—usually termed rebate, incast or discount—was variable. There was sold in October 1742 "to Kelso doyts at ½, rebate, £40, 6s., loss £20, 3s." In the same year there was "a rebate of 18d. bad halfpence at ½, a loss of 9d." In the earlier years, down to 1743 inclusive, the loss with the two exceptions just noted, was one-third of the amounts. From 1746 and on to 1750, it was one-sixth; in 1750 it was one-twelfth (exceptional). After that year the loss is only noted by the terms "discount" or "rebate," except in 1752, when the discount was one-sixth.

The base money appears to have been only occasionally sold by weight, being generally disposed of by exchange, usually among the

merchants in the town, for current money. Thomas Wait (first mentioned in February 1746) figures as the principal exchanger, and Thomas Air and Janet Grieve are also mentioned. It is noted that an exchange of doits was made at Greenlaw Fair in 1759. Down to 1765 the non-current coins, with one or two exceptions, were doits. After that year they entirely disappear from the collections.

When the doits pass out of the account of bad coin, "bad copper" or "bad halfpence" take their place, till we come down to July 1814, when bad silver coin is first mentioned in the collections. From 1767 to 1773 there is no mention of base coin, but in the latter year there is a loss on base money of 18s. 6d. (now sterling money). In intervening years there were various losses. In 1801 there was a loss of £1, 8s. 5d., or £2 of bad halfpence sold at 10d. per lb., Dutch weight. On 17th August 1819, there is a discount of £2, 5s. 8½d. on bad halfpence and silver sold. This is the last entry of bad money found in the collections. Going back to April 1759, we find the following entry: "Discompt of selling 5s. 6d. sterling of bad sanded halfpennies £2, 7s. Scots." What sanded halfpennies were we have never been able to find out.

In the Greenlaw kirk session accounts a doit is valued, when it was current, as equal to

a Scotch penny. This is seen from the rate of exchange with the current coin, *e.g.*, 1740: "Rebate of 12d. of doyts given in at 8d." And in 1757 "to incast of doits sold to Thomas Watt at 18 p shilling."

The question suggests itself, why were doits so much in evidence since they had ceased to be legal currency. It has been suggested that they were bought from the exchangers by the people to be again used for the collections. That, however, would lead to the collections being very much of the same amount, which we have seen was not the case. The explanation we would offer is to be found in the wretched state of the copper currency of the time. The scarcity of legal copper money naturally led to the continued currency of a proscribed currency, and so the familiar doit still retained a place.

Besides losses of bad money in the collections, the session had losses by defaulters, bankrupts, and burglars. Such losses are thus recorded: "The session box with the whole money therein was stolen on 13th June, therefore no ballance arising from this date" (June 1734). On 17th August 1745: "Lost by William Dickson, Dying Bankrupt, a collection in his hand £5, 3s." And on 25th May 1760: "Lost by James Watson's Elopment of collections in his hand, £9, 16s."

From the following entry in the disbursements we incidentally learn that "kirk ladles" were used in taking the collections: "April 28, 1738, To Andrew Armstrong for making two new boxes for getting the collections, £1, 10s."

CHAPTER X

HOW THE FUNDS WERE DISBURSED

THE funds disbursed were collections, fines, payments for marriage proclamations, and mortcloth dues. In the accounts there are some curious entries illustrative of the times, and though it is the custom in some quarters to sneer at and decry the narrow-minded bigotry of these old kirk sessions, yet the disbursements show that the men composing them had real kindness of heart and sympathy with suffering humanity.

Payments were made for a variety of objects of general utility, both within and outside the parish, as well as for strictly church purposes.

Among the earliest disbursements mentioned in the special book of the disbursements is one on 26th July 1719: "Given out payment for the ffoundlin's quarter's maintenance, £7 Scots." As the name implies, the "ffoundlin" (it is usually spelled "ffoundlin," but the clerk

is not particular) was a boy who had been abandoned and thrown on the kirk session for his upbringing. Judging from other entries this would be about nine or ten years before the above date. He is afterwards named Alexander Greenlaw, ffoundlin, or simply "the ffoundlin." The kirk session seems to have taken a kindly interest in him, and he was well cared for, as the entries respecting him show. There are different entries for "cloathes," shoes, and hose. In 1723, there is an entry "For a proverbs resting and an ounce of candie and a loaf when he was sick, 4s."

In the same year a New Testament was bought for him costing 10s. The Proverbs was a school book, almost within living memory. There are three entries for sick payment on his account in 1726, two of 12s. and one of 14s. His yearly board cost £28 (Scots). The ffoundlin was also apprenticed to a trade as is seen from the following entry of 18th May 1725: "To John Anderson, Taylor, upon the accompt of making the ffoundlin's cloathes the time of his apprenticeship and other necessarys to him, £4." Strangely enough, provision was made for him after his apprenticeship. The last entry respecting him is 26th November 1727: "Given out to buy shirts, shoes, and hose to Alexander Greenlaw, £3." It may be

believed that the ffoundlin's lot, as the adopted son of the kirk session, was greatly better than it would have been had he been brought up by his parents.

The alimented poor were all paid out of the funds provided by the kirk session and the heritors, in certain proportions. This is first noticed in July 1725, when Robert Watson was appointed by the heritors and elders a collector for "inbringing the poor of this parish their maintenance." About that time the sum given by the session was £120 (Scots) yearly, their proportion being the third of the whole sum. The session also rendered assistance in what may be called occasionally necessitous cases, and sometimes considerable sums were given.

Among these may be mentioned the following. In 1719: "To Isobel Denning, to help to pay her broken leg, £7." In 1722: "To William Wood, under physicians, £18." In 1727: "To Agnes Angus, returned sick from service, £1, 10s." There are numerous entries of sums given to persons in "reduced circumstances," "being sick," "lying sick," "distressed family," "in great poverty," etc. One entry is, "To Janet Hay in distraction, £1, 10s." Assistance was also given to tradesmen who had met with misfortunes and to persons in straitened circumstances to aid

them in making a living. In 1724: "Ane firlot and ane half of oats was given out to Robert Hyslop to sow his lands, £1, 10s." In the same year "Mathew Thornton got £5, 8s. to buy seed to sow his lands." This Mathew Thornton was often in need, and appears never to have been able to keep on his feet notwithstanding all the help he got. In 1727 there was "given to Thomas Pringle, Smith in Lambden, to help him to buy a horse, he being in straitened circumstances, and having lost his horse by a misfortune, £9." In 1742, "£4, 16s. was given to Thomas Marjoribanks to buy an ass," and in 1764 Adam Watson got £6 "to assist him to buy a horse." In 1826, in addition to other parochial aid, 1½d. weekly was allowed to Jean Watson and Widow Young to get tobacco.

The kirk session was virtually the banker of the parish in those days. It advanced loans to parishioners on the security of bills. Sometimes the bills were remitted in cases of persons who had been reduced to poverty. Money was also loaned to poor parishioners, repayment being risked. In cases, however, where the session considered the borrower to be able to repay, all legal means were taken to recover in the event of refusal or undue delay. This procedure was also adopted in the cases of "deficients" in the payments of church dues.

Advances were also made, sometimes in kind, to tradesmen. There is reference to dearths in the years 1741 and 1746-47. On 12th September 1741 is the following entry: "To the overseers of the poor £271, 10s.," to which is appended the note: "The session took the whole maintenance of the enlisted poor upon them for the summer half year, 1741, because of the dearth, conform to the resolution of the heritors and kirk session 23rd May, which caused the high expense." In connection with this there is an entry in the account of collections, of 20th September 1741, of the receipt from Mr John Home, factor to the Earl of Marchmont, "of byegone interest due by his lordship £120."[1] A similar arrangement was made with regard to the poor for the half year from Martinmas 1746 to Whitsunday 1747, another year of dearth.

A custom also prevailed of distributing alms to the poor at the kirk doors at sacrament times, and is first noted on 13th July 1741: "To poor begging." (This is after a list of distributions to some parishioners.) The sums given vary from 2s. to 8s. In many parts of the country it was common for poor persons, or beggars as we should call them, to go to different parish kirks on the

[1] This was the interest on the Broumfield Bequest money which was in his lordship's hands.

Monday after the sacrament and beg a share of the collections. The last mention of this practice is in 1746, after which date we may infer it was discontinued.

Besides attending to their own poor, the session had many calls on their charity by travellers and common vagrants, to whom apparently help was seldom denied. Others of a higher grade are mentioned by name along with their present or former calling. Amongst them were ministers, preachers, schoolmasters, and such like. Most of them are said to be "well attested," others "recommended." We give a few of the entries, quaint some of them are: 1731, "To one recommended by Mr James Glen, minister of the gospel at Whitingham, £1, 10s." 1732, "To an Episcopal minister according to recommendation of the Presbytery, £1, 10s." "An Episcopal minister's widow, 12s." "To Robert Ross, a young man, a scholar, upon ample recommendation of the Assembly, £2, 8s." There are several payments to preachers in "poor circumstances." Other entries are: "To Mr Craig, a schoolmaster well attested, 12s." "Two poor strangers, one recommended by the Assembly, and the other by the Synod, 12s." There are grants to the following cases: "A distressed sick boy for a horse hyre to carry him to Melrose, 10s."

"To a dumb man." "A poor woman, a stranger at the kirk door." "A beggar woman and her three children." An "object." In 1764 there is an entry: "Baptism of a poor child," 8d. This would be the beadle's fee. There are several entries of sums paid to a "poor gentleman," to a "poor gentlewoman," to a "gentle beggar." In 1804 there was "given to three women recommended by the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, 3s."

In the 1780's, and from 1807 to 1820, there are numerous entries of relief to sailors (styled shipwrecked mariners) and soldiers, their wives and families. After 1820 there are few entries of payments in charity to travellers. The tramps may have been fewer; or the kirk session may have seen fit to withhold alms formerly given; most probably the latter.

The certificates of character presented by the travelling poor, whilst introducing the holders of them to the favourable consideration of the session, were, at the same time, virtually travelling passes, without which vagrants were not allowed to travel, though many of them evaded the law and were overlooked. The pass stated the place to which the traveller belonged, and the object and destination of his travel. In the years 1814 to 1819 there are entries of assistance given to persons who are noted as having passes. They cease after the

latter date. There are also occasional entries of payments for passes, usually costing 6d. each. These would be for poor parishioners who required to travel to a distance, and saved them from being treated as common vagrants. We have no reference in the kirk session records of licenses being given to any Greenlaw poor to beg in the parish, as was the custom in some parishes.

The vagrant class at the time noticed, as well as before and after, was a widespread social evil causing much annoyance and danger to the settled inhabitants. Persons were prohibited under penalties from giving them harbour. In 1715 Thomas Landreth and John Corsnip in Hume were "ilk ane of them fined £50 Scots, for resetting Egyptians, sorners and sturdie beggars." And in 1822 Jenny Proudie, a lodging-house keeper in Barney's Entry (alias Shaw's Lane), was accused of harbouring vagrants. A certificate or pass alone secured them from being apprehended by the parish constables and being put out of the county into another, to be in turn expelled from it, and so on till they reached their own parish. The cost of expelling the vagrants was considerable. In the years 1817-18, 1818-19, the accounts of Adam Watson and James Tocher, constables, for putting vagrants out of Greenlaw parish and outwith the county

amounted to £14, 3s. 9d., and £15, 7s. 2d. respectively. And for the same years the accounts given in by Thomas Binning, Gordon constable, for similar work in that parish was £12, 13s. 4d. and £11, 2s.

In the times of which we are treating, and for a considerable time previous, strangers coming into a locality to settle required to bring with them certificates of good character before they were permitted to remain. This was in order to keep out persons of bad repute, or who were likely to become burdensome to the parish.

A meeting of the session and heritors was held in 1823 "to take steps to prevent strangers acquiring a residence in the parish and ultimately becoming burdensome to it." What steps were taken in pursuance of this object does not appear, but so late as December 1841 a committee of heritors was appointed along with the session "to examine the roll of persons come into the parish, with powers to take steps necessary to prevent any becoming burdens on the parish."

We give two specimens of character certificates:—"Thes are to certifie that the berar Hereof Robert llow (Low) and Janet haswel llived in this our town and parish for the space of eliven years frie from all public scandal or courch senser known to us, so that we know

no Resen whuy they may not be Reseved intto aney Christen Congrition or famuley wher God and his providence may order tther lot.

"Given ounder our hands att Kelso this 21 of July, 1738, Jas. Ramsey, minister, Robert Davidson, elder, George Selby, session clerk."

This certificate appears to have been handed in to the civil authorities, amongst whose papers it was bound up. It would also be known to the kirk session.

The other certificate is as follows: "August the 10, 1772. This is to testefy that Thomas Lunham Lodged in my hous from the first of Aprill till the first of Jullay, and behaved in a sivell manner and I can say nothing that may stop him from anie church preveledges. (Signed) Robert Winter."

It will be noticed from the character of the certificates that they served as an introduction to both civil and church society.

From 1719 onwards to 1738, there are regular entries in the disbursement book of payments of £2 yearly to the account of bursars. A presbytery undertook to provide a bursary for one student or more for the ministry, each session contributing a proportion of the amount.

On 18th April 1727, there is the entry:— "To William Mitchell, Smith, for making nails to put up the tent at the Sacrament, and ane

new standard for the Sand glass £1, 19s. 6d." (Scots). These "sand glasses" were common in churches in the sixteenth century, and continued in use till the beginning of the nineteenth century. Under 14th July 1808, is the entry, "To 14 copies of the Paraphrases sung in the church given to 14 poor people, 5s. 4d."

CHAPTER XI

COMMUNION CELEBRATIONS—FAST DAYS—TOKENS

In the extant kirk session records the more particular entries relating to communions, which were usually held yearly, begin in 1720. In that and the following year it was held in June. For some years it was held in July, then in August, and for a number of years in May. The half yearly celebration began in October 1803.

In the period between 1724 and 1789 inclusive, there were fifteen years in which the communion was not observed. Of these, four years were during the ministry of Mr Turnbull, eight during that of Mr John Hume, and three during that of Mr Simpson.

In the celebration, the portable seats in the area of the church were removed, and long deal tables with seats, at which the communicants took their places, were put up at the front of the pulpit. This arrangement, which was almost universal in Scotland, existed with

modifications down to 1830. Several entries occur of payments being made for "foot dales" for the communion tables.

In November 1730 is the entry: "To Andrew Armstrong out of the box to accompt of payment to him for making a new session table, £13."[1]

The fact of literal tables having been generally used is preserved in the figurative use of the word "table," as when we speak of the "Lord's Table," "Table Services," etc.

In former times the attendances at the sacraments were large, numbers of people coming from other parishes. And in order to provide adequate services for all, and secure good order during the table services by preventing overcrowding, which we are told sometimes took place, services were held outside in the churchyard, while the table services were going on within. For sitting accommodation at the outdoor services, people brought with them chairs, stools, etc. An interesting sight it must have been to witness the people carrying their seats on a communion Sabbath morning.

To accommodate the preacher and the precentor on these occasions, a tent or portable pulpit was set up in a suitable place in the

[1] May not this be the antique carved table (3 feet 20 inches by 23 inches) that was long kept in the session house in the tower, but has been removed for safe keeping to the manse? On it would be placed the communion elements.

churchyard. When the minister began to preach from the front of the tent, the precentor took his seat within, the two exchanging places as their different duties required. This was the order of procedure within living memory of old persons. In October 1722, there was paid "For a tent and the making thereof £9, 2s. (Scots)." This was not the first tent in use, as the setting up of one is referred to in 1720.

The simultaneous and lengthened services required two precentors as well as additional ministers; so we find such entries of sacramental expenses as, "To the precentor as his ordinary at the sacrament, £3 (Scots)." "To the precentor without for two years, £1, 4s. (Scots)." The beadle also had his ordinary of £2 at the sacrament for extra services. There are entries of 12s. paid to the beadle of Eccles for assistance at the sacraments in 1765, 1767, and 1769. These sacramental official expenses were continued down to at least 1835. The precentor without is not mentioned after 1798. In July 1764, there is the quaint entry: "To a woman who afforded linen at the sacrament, 14s." Possibly a new communion cloth was not at the time obtainable from the usual source, as we find that next year £10, 16s. (Scots) was paid to James Redpath for a new one.

Although it was quite common in some

parishes for keepers of ale-houses to have refreshment tents or stalls on sacrament occasions in the churchyard, we have no reference to the presence of such tents at the Greenlaw communions. We have been informed, by a person who was present, that a refreshment tent was put up in the churchyard of the neighbouring parish of Westruther.

In connection with the sacramental observances there were Fast Days, and Preaching Saturday—Preparation Day—and the Preaching Monday—Thanksgiving Day—at all of which two sermons were preached.

The Sabbath services, which generally began at eleven o'clock and lasted till about four, consisted of a sermon, an action sermon, the "debars" or fencing of the tables, and addresses after each table, of which there were several, interspersed with praise and prayer. From four o'clock to six there was an interval, after which there was an evening service, lasting from an hour and three-quarters to two hours. In changing, the communicants who had been at the table left by one door, while the new communicants entered by another. During the changing a psalm was sung, usually to the time-honoured tune of "Coleshill."

The first observance of a fast day in connection with the sacrament was in October

1722. It is simply noted in the collection receipts. There is likewise noticed, in the same manner, the Saturday and Monday services, as being appointed at the same time. In some parishes—it may have been in many—Saturday and Monday preachings existed for some time before the fast day. In Preston and Buncle they existed from 1667 till 1687, but there is no mention of fast days.

Probably the earliest observances of fast days in Scotland were at Dalgety in 1654 and Dunfermline in 1656, but the regular observance of fast days does not seem to have existed till the end of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century. At the close of the nineteenth century, most of the fast days and preaching days, with the exception of an evening service, were all discontinued.

In 1786 there were bought "two silver communion cups, and two pewter flagons made by James Gilliland, Jeweller, Edinburgh, costing £16, 10s." (sterling).

Tokens.—The first mention of tokens is under the entry of 2nd September 1722: "Given out also for 700 new tokens at eighteen shillings Scots per hundred, £6, 6s." The token is of lead, round, with a slight border around the obverse, on which is the letter G and the date 1722, the reverse being

plain, and the size that of a shilling. There is no reference to the kind or date of the previous ones. A new supply was got in 1772, this token being also of lead and round, with a slight border, and a little smaller. It has the letter G on one side, and on the other the date, and is of much ruder make. This token is now scarce.

Reference has been made to the beadle's dues at the communions; these were additional to his salary, being allowance of money for shoes, called "His Whitsunday and Martinmas shoes." This is first mentioned in June 1719. Down to 1799 the allowance was 30s. (Scots) for one pair; it was then raised to 5s. (sterling), and to 7s. 6d. in 1804. In 1814 the allowance was changed to a "yearly salary of £1," and in 1820, to £2. Besides his salary the beadle, as grave digger, was paid for such work, and likewise for ringing the little bell or great bell at funerals.

The beadle is frequently named under the alias of "kirkstile." This arose from his residence being at the stile or stair leading into the churchyard. In the years 1735 to 1738 there are entries of payments "To kirk stile, his Martinmas (or Whitsunday) shoes, £1, 10s." (Scots). One James Redpath, the first mentioned by name, was beadle for many years; he is last noticed by name in 1733. In the county

records a James Redpath, of Kirk Stile, Greenlaw, is mentioned in 1700, 1703, and 1718. No doubt he was the church officer of the day. The Kirk Stile or stair was at the head of Church Street on the west side, and was taken away before 1833.

CHAPTER XII

JAMES BROOMFIELD OF SLAP—BEDSHIEL SCHOOL

In the disbursement accounts there are frequent entries of special relief given to one James Broomfield, who is first mentioned on 9th June 1723. He was as much known by the name "Slap" (his place) as by his personal name.

On 17th December 1731 is the entry: "Given out for the use of Slap's wife indisposed, £1, 4s." (Scots). There are also entries of payments made for Slap's child.

There is a long entry showing sums paid, amounting to £229 (Scots), in connection with the "Accompt of Charges Repairing James Broomfield of Slap's house in Greenlaw, which was burnt in October 1727."

As showing the rate of wages at that time, some of the items may be mentioned. "To James Thomson in Westraw for six days serving the masons to it £1, 16s." "To Adam Taylor in Greenlaw for ten days Thicking it,

and Simon Redpath in Westraw five days and ane halfs work likewise thicking it, £8, 5s." "To John Clinkscales, Mason in Polwarth Robert and Thomas Gray's precept upon Mr Turnbull for their work, serving the Thickers and Howing broom to thick the said house, £8, 14s." "To Robert Turnbull ten days drawing thatch to it, £2, 10s."

But not only was the house restored; the accounts show that payments were made for "ane bed," "ane press," a "chest," and other articles of furniture.

As usual in the case of serious fires, collections were made in the different congregations under the instructions of the Presbytery of Duns. The following were the collections made as entered: "Collected through the parish of Greenlaw £42, ffogo £6, 12s., Longformacus £2, 13s., Polwarth £8, 1s. 8d., Duns £15, Langton £6, 6s., Cranshaws £4, Buncle £3, 12s., Eccles £21, Abbey St Bathans £3, 10s.—a total of £112, 14s. 8d. (Scots)."

An interesting tradition is connected with Robert Broomfield, father of this James Broomfield, which may have led to a greater interest being taken in this case. Of the story, two versions have been handed down, or they may possibly refer to two different occasions. One is given in the Statistical Account

of the Parish by the Rev. Abraham Home, in 1834.

He says: "There is a tradition that upon one occasion, when Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth (afterwards created Earl of Marchmont) was obliged to flee from Redbraes House, now called Marchmont, he crossed the country a little above Greenlaw, where he met with a man of the name of Broomfield, the miller of Greenlaw Mill, who was repairing a slap in the mill cauld. Sir Patrick, addressing him by the occupation in which he was engaged, said, 'Slap, have you any money?' upon which Broomfield supplied him with what was considered necessary for his present exigency. Sir Patrick was obliged about this time to go over to Holland, and when he came back with King William, he did not forget his former benefactor. It is not known what return he made him, but the family were settled in a free house so long as they lived, and always retained the name of 'Slap.'"

Mr Home is not correct about Slap becoming a personal name: Slap was the name of Broomfield's residence. Like many others, he was known both in speech and writing by the name of his place as much as by his personal surname. The place "Slap" is mentioned as the residence of Robert Broomfield in 1668, in which year he was

witness to a baptism in Gordon parish (Gordon Registers). The spelling of the surname is only one of its variations. That Robert Broomfield was miller in Greenlaw Mill there is no doubt, as in 1704 he raised an action against the farmer of Greenlawdean for multure.

The other version of the tradition is the account given by the late James Richardson, Greenlaw, who died in 1885, aged 95 years. According to his account, "some of the Broomfield family were building or repairing dikes near the Well tree, a little above Greenlaw, when Sir Patrick Hume came to them, fleeing for his life, from Redbraes. They built a cairn of stones around him and so hid him from his pursuers. For this good service Sir Patrick afterwards bestowed on the family a house or houses between the dam and head of Mill Wynd." Weight is given to the credibility of this account by the fact of the relationship of James Richardson to the Broomfields, through whom it would naturally be handed down. James Richardson's mother was a Broomfield, and she was brought up with an uncle and an aunt in Greenlaw. She was born in 1749, so that in her youth the whole story would be comparatively fresh in the family, and she must have heard the incidents of it frequently told. The story does

not give the year when the incident took place, but it may be set down to the year 1683 or 1684, a troublous time for Sir Patrick. It could not be the year 1685, in which year he left Redbraes by another road and escaped to Holland.

Confirmatory evidence of, at least, the substantial truth of the latter version of the tradition is found in the fact that a feu charter, of date 6th December 1684, was given by Sir Patrick "to Robert Bruntfield, of a tenement and yard in Greenlaw commonly called "Slap." (Index of Charters.)

In seeking to fix the locality of Slap, we are guided by the descriptive boundaries in the title deeds of Mill Wynd properties, which would locate it certainly in the Mill Wynd, and most probably near the mill.

In deeds relating to Greenside, alias Bus, the lands are described as being bounded on the north by the (Westerraw) burn, and on the east by the "kirkgate." This was a footpath to the parish church; it would cross the mill haugh nearly opposite the mill,[1] and may it not be presumed that there would be a stile over a fence separating the footpath from the Mill Wynd entrance into the town?

The word "Slap" is allied to the word

[1] In old deeds there is frequent mention of footpaths through the haugh.

slack, one meaning of which is a "hollow." And being the termination of the kirkgate, it would be significant enough to give its name to "a tenement and yard" situated near it, just as the name kirkstile was given to the head of Church Street, as being near to the stile leading to the church.

In 1740 the "tenement and yard called Slap" were sold to the Earl of Marchmont by James Broomfield, son of Robert.

In the book of disbursements of the kirk session, there are entries of payments made to the schoolmaster of Bedshiel. They begin in June 1705, with a payment of £12 (Scots). In 1771, there is another of £6 (Scots). After this there is a long interval, till 1808, when payments are resumed, £1, 1s. (sterling) being contributed. With the exceptions of the years 1810 and 1815, this amount was contributed yearly up to 1816, after which year contributions cease, presumably because the school ceased to exist, in consequence of the diminution in the number of school children resulting from the changes which took place in the holdings about that time.

Bedshiel, which is now a single farm, four miles north of Greenlaw, situated near the northern boundary of the parish, consisted in former times of five farms and a village, whose inhabitants held one of the farm lands "con-

junctly and severally." These lands were called "acre lands or south crofts," and consisted of $65\frac{1}{2}$ acres of corn land, 50 acres of meadow, $73\frac{1}{2}$ acres of bog, and $118\frac{1}{2}$ acres of moor. These were the divisions in 1782. In the village there was an officer, usually called the "birleyman," appointed to keep order and settle any disputes that might arise amongst the acre holders in connection with the occupation of the land.

In an inventory of the lands of Bedshiel in 1705, on the decease of Sir George Home of Kimmerghame, to whom they belonged, this officer is said to "have an acre for his pains." In the inventory 39 acres of land are said to be "in the town of Bedshiel"; this is the number held by the villagers at that time.

There was also a mill, which was rented by itself, along "with four acres in Bedshiel," as stated in the inventory. There was an extensive peat moss, from which "elding" (fuel) was obtained. The casting and winning (drying and making ready for fuel) of peats formed an industry for the villagers, besides the cultivation of the acres.

The peats were taken in sacks, on pack horses, to the neighbouring towns and sold, the peatmen being known as the "Peat lords" of Bedshiel. We cannot give the full history of the occupancy of the village lands; but in

1782, a twenty-one years' lease was given to the villagers. At the end of the lease there was a verbal renewal of it for seven years, at the expiry of which the lands were added to the other lands in Bedshiel, then in the tenancy of Mr John Fairbairn, farmer, Halyburton. Mr Fairbairn renounced the lease of all the Bedshiel lands in 1819, when they were let to Messrs Edward and John Lithgow, and Mr Andrew Hudson and James Cow. The Lithgows subsequently became sole tenants, and thus completely passed away the common possession of the "south crofts" or "acres," carrying with it the extinction of a village community which formed a prominent feature of the times.

CHAPTER XIII

PARISH BEQUESTS AND BENEFACTIONS

In the bequests to the parish, that of Thomas Broumfield, farmer of Greenlawdean and Claydub, is the oldest of which there is any record. We reproduce the greater part of the deed as indicating the intentions of the donor, and also as illustrative of the style in which these old deeds were written.

"I, Thomas Broumfield, indellar in Grinlawdeine, being at present, praised be God, in health of bodie and abill to walke about my lawfull afaires, yet considering with myself how uncertine a thing the lyfe of man is, and I being ane good old age if it sould please God of his infinit mercie and goodness to call me to my seeke bed, or to remove me from former and present memorie, all being uncertaine to man but known to the Almighty and his secrets counsall, whereby it may be trouble to me in either caices, I not haveing my wordlie business at ane close according to my mind,

Qrfore my will is that I being in health and memorie, praised be God, to dispose upone my worldlie meanes in maner underwrinne. I leave for the pritt building of ane stane bridge over the water of Blaccader above the Waster rawe at Grinlaw qr Mr David Home, some tyme minister, built ane timber bridge, the soume of four thousand merks (£222, 4s. 6d.), Blacader is owne five thousand merks in two bondis, to pay George Gordine, and build the bridge, as for my wyfes joynter, James Home owes four thousand merks and Dunglasse ane thousand pund and Bartholmew heaves five hundreth merkes. After my wyfes deceis I leave forever for the poore of Grinlaw, the interst of five hundreth merkes and lykeways five hundreth merks (£27, 15s. 6½d.) for the relief of, and help of, the schoolmaster of Grinlaw, the interest qrof, and this to be settled forever. I lykewayes leave four hundreth merkes (£22, 4s. 5d.) for to buy ane good bell for the paroche church of Grinlaw. Now I humbly beg and pray that the right honorabill James Earl of Home, William Earl of Roxburgh, Sir Patrick Home of Polward, John Home of Blacader, Sir Thomas Kar of Cavers, the Laird of Stitchill, Sir Alexander Don, knight and barronet of Newton, and James Home of Grinlawedeane, now seeing God to send this offer, Let me beg again to see

this prtt worke gone about and lykewayse make an end of finishing the bridge."

John Craw, indweller in Auld Greenlaw, was named as executor. The will was dated at Grinlawdeine the 15th day of August 1667, and was registered in the Commissariat of Lauder on the 15th October 1667. From a law plea which took place, it appears that the bequest for the bridge, which was payable after the testator's death, had been paid, and the bridge built, before 1682. After the death of Mrs Broumfield in 1682, John Craw, the executor, refused to pay over the parochial bequests, alleging that he had got from the crown a gift of the estate as being an estate of bastardy.[1] Notwithstanding this, he of his own free will, he said, had arranged with Mr John Home, minister of the parish, with consent of the Presbytery and two heritors, to give 899 merks in full satisfaction of the said bequests. The validity of the agreement was not recognised by Mr Borthwick, the succeeding minister and his session, and shortly after Mr Borthwick's settlement in 1693, an action was raised by the minister and session. The case was settled on 24th October 1695, in favour of the session, the interest to be paid on the sums bequeathed for the poor and

[1] Thomas Broumfield was illegitimate, but he had been legitimated long before his death.

the schoolmaster from 1682. (Sheriff Court decreets.)

In 1705, these two mortified sums, with interest, amounted to 1600 merks. In May of that year, the amount was vested in the hands of Patrick, Earl of Marchmont, and Lord Polwarth, for which a bond, of date 24th January 1706, was given, binding themselves conjointly and severally, their heirs and successors, to repay the principal, with interest, yearly until the same was paid to Mr Borthwick and the elders and kirk session of Greenlaw and their successors in office.

The interest, subsequently, was only partially paid, and by 1715 the accumulated arrears amounted to 400 merks, which also was then put into a separate bond given by Earl Patrick, on the same conditions as the previous one. For some time the interest still continued to be irregularly paid, but all arrears of interest on the two bonds were cleared off in 1748.[1] These two bonds,[2] amounting to 2000 merks Scots, have since 1715 continued to be the capital sum on which the interest of the Broumfield Mortification has been paid for the poor of Greenlaw and the schoolmaster thereof. The yearly interest, amounting to £5, 11s. 1d., is

[1] Kirk session registers.

[2] They were registered in the Books of the Lords of Council and Session on 9th August 1800.

divided equally between the poor and the schoolmaster.

The liability of the Marchmont estate for these mortifications was never questioned till the succession of the present owner, Sir John H. Purves Hume Campbell, when his legal agent called the liability in question. The matter, however, was settled and the payment of annual interest continued. The payment is always entered in the session books as the Mortified money or Broumfield's Mortification. In the south wall of the church there is a monumental slab with the inscription:—"To the memory of Thomas Broomfield, a considerable benefactor to this parish and to the public. Buried here, August 1667. By order of the kirk session of Greenlaw, this is erected 1742."

The Marchmont Bounty.—A heritable bond of security was executed on 23rd March 1830 by Sir William Purves Hume Campbell of Marchmont, in which he burdened the lands of Wester Howlaws, in the parish of Greenlaw, with the payments of yearly annuities of £50 for the poor of the parish of Greenlaw, £25 for the poor of the parish of Polwarth, and £25 for the poor of the parish of Hume, payable to the ministers of the respective parishes for the time being as trustees, for the use and behoof of the poor of their parishes. The annuities were to be paid at Whitsunday and Martinmas,

in two equal portions yearly, and to be expended in the purchase of coals and "good wholesome oatmeal" for distribution amongst the poor, between the first day of November and the first day of April, the distribution to be made with the approbation of the proprietor of Marchmont or his factor. The lands of Wester Howlaws[1] were bought in 1824 from Thomas Hood for £13,500; £5500 of this sum was advanced by Sir William out of his private means, the remainder by Sir John Wauchope, trustee on the Marchmont estate, out of trust funds. In the disposition of the lands to the heirs of entail as executed by Thomas Hood at the request of the purchaser, there was excepted from the same, power and liberty to Sir William and the heirs male of his body, to burden the lands to the extent of the said £5500. From this exception the annuities are drawn. The first payment was to begin at the first term of Whitsunday or Martinmas after Sir William's decease. (Sir William died on the 9th April 1833.)

Sir William also built a "coal fauld" in the Mill Wynd for the storage of coal, and gave £50 to fill it. The poor were supplied from this depot at a moderate price. It has long

[1] The burial-place in the churchyard of Greenlaw, belonging to the lands of Wester Howlaws, was reserved to the seller, his heirs and successors.

been disused. He also presented the town with a steelyard for the weighing of the coals, which before that were sold by the cartload. It was let at a small yearly rent, and was under the management of a committee nominated at first by Mr Hume, schoolmaster, to whom the donor had intimated his intention of presenting it. Sir William attached the condition that the steelyard should be placed under the management of a committee, who should be responsible for keeping it up. It was set up on the north side of the street, a few yards west of the east boundary-wall of the Green. After the railway was made (in 1862) the steelyard was little used, and gradually got out of repair, and eventually, in 1893, it was taken away.

The first pipe water-supply of the town was also put in by Sir William from the Well Tree spring.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CHURCHYARD

The churchyard of Greenlaw is first mentioned in a grant of lands by William, son of Patrick, to Kelso Abbey (Charter 76) about 1230, in which some of the lands are said to be near the churchyard. In the kirk session records mention is made in 1758 of "building the kirk yard dikes"; probably they were the first. The old stair leading into the churchyard would then be put up.

In the ninth century, ecclesiastical law enacted that burials should be only outside churches and in certain specified localities within them, and the Council of Nantes (A.D. 850) settled the places where burials were permitted. After the Reformation the Assembly, by repeated acts, condemned the practice of burying in churches and "hanging up of brodes and plates" on the church walls as savouring of superstition. In 1558 they passed an Act renewing their inhibition

against these, and petitioned his Majestie and Counsell to pass an ordinance "discharging burials within kirks and siclyke erecting of Tombs and laying of thruchs in kirk yards." This repressive policy sufficiently accounts for the absence from our churchyards, except in a few instances, of tombstones earlier than the latter part of the seventeenth century and beginning of the eighteenth. From the aforesaid act it may be inferred that at that time tombstones had been put up in churchyards, and also that the "thruch" stone was an early form of the tombstone. A considerable number of the old tombstones in the Greenlaw churchyard are in that form. The earliest, which is dated 1667, records the names of some members of the Greenlaw family, and is placed at the north-east end of the church. In the adjoining enclosed place, there is a mural tombstone with an illegible inscription, which is supposed to have reference to the same family. The oldest dated tombstone, quite a small one, bears the date 1653; it is nearly opposite the head of Church Street, and is simply initialled G. B. and I. R. A. G. There are only a few stones which have on them any sculpture work; some have the common death's head and cross bones, and one or two a sand-glass. A few have the figure of an angel with expanded wings. Of this class, the most

striking and artistic is in memory of William Fairbairn, Bedshiel, who died August 1809; it stands near the south-east end of the church. Another one—a little less striking—stands near the south-west end, and is to the memory of John Swan, tenant in Greenside, who died in 1754. All the others with the angel effigy are defaced. There is a stone at the north wall of the tower to the memory of Alexander Punton, gardener, Rowchester, who died in March 1724, and who, the inscription records, had eight children by his first wife and twelve by his second. All the implements of his occupation are sculptured on the stone. Another stone of somewhat elaborate ornamentation and sculpture is to the memory of the Linen family. The burial-place of the Redpaths, formerly proprietors of Angelrow, was at the east end of the church. There is a slab in the wall of the enclosure, with a much obliterated Latin inscription, the last recorded death on it being "Jacobi Redpath, of Angelrow." (See also note 1, p. 42.)

The aisle of the Nisbet family of Lambden, and that of Rowchester, are at the east end of the church. In the latter is buried Thomas Cockburn, Writer to the Signet, who was Deputy Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland, and who died in 1787. Another portion of the aisle is the burial-place of the Hoods of

Stainrig. Near to the Rowchester aisle is a tombstone of a somewhat ornate character to the memory of Patrick Dickson of Howlawrig, near Greenlaw, who was secretary to the Earl of Marchmont.

A thruch stone to the south of the church records the deaths of members of a family of the name of Young, of one of whom, Robert, a weaver, it is stated that he had by his two wives seventeen children. Another was to Robert, "taylor and feuar" in Church Street, who died in December 1807, aged 92. Robert was tailor to the Earl of Marchmont, and the tombstone, quite an ornamental one, was put up by the Earl, as shown by the inscription, "Ye gift of the Right Hon. E. M."

There is only one tombstone with an epitaph. It stands near the west end of the church, south side, and is "In memory of Thomas Anderson, late tenant in Harlaw, who departed this life 29th February 1824, in the 53rd year of his age, Who traversed the ocean 28 years, 27 of which he filled the place of Warrant Officer in the Royal Navy. And after a long series of years has cast anchor in his native dust :—

"Stop, Passenger, and cast your eye ;
As you are now, so once was I,
As I am now, so you must be,
Therefore prepare to follow me."

In the centre of the south part of the churchyard there is a broken thruch stone which, tradition says, covers the burial-place of one or more persons who died of the plague. We have seen no reference to the plague ever having been in this locality, but some persons may have died from a disease of an extraordinary character, which might be spoken of as the plague. Unfortunately there is no inscription on the stone.

The portion of the churchyard north of the church was not much used up till 1838; during the French war it was used as a Yeomanry drilling ground.

One Magnus Swiney, an Irish reaper, who was executed on Greenlaw Green in 1834, for highway robbery and murder near Lauder, was buried in the north-west portion.[1] Thomas Deayell, a baker, who committed suicide, is buried at the north-west corner of the church. He is said to have been the first suicide to be buried in the churchyard, the burial taking place at six o'clock at night. In 1881, an addition was made to the churchyard to the east.

[1] So far as records say, this was the first execution that took place at Greenlaw. Another execution, that of John Williams, who was convicted of the murder of the keeper of Cleek-him-inn toll, near Lauder, took place in front of the County Hall, in the spring of 1853. He was buried in the prison ground.

CHAPTER XV

REGALITY AND BARONY BURGHS

After the death of George, Earl of Dunbar, Greenlaw Redpath Barony was inherited by Lady Anne Home, eldest daughter of the Earl, and co-heiress of the Earl's lands with her sister Elizabeth. She was married to Sir James Home of Quhitrig, and they were both retoured in the lands of Greenlaw Redpath, 16th December 1613. In 1620, after the death of Sir James who was survived by Lady Anne, the lands passed into the possession of Sir James Home of Manderston, a kinsman of Lady Anne, to whom she made over the lands with a reservation of a life interest in them. In 1622 they were confirmed to Sir Alexander Home of Manderston. In 1623 they appear to have been sold by Sir George Home of Manderston and his son Alexander to Andrew Logane of Coitfield. The charter received Royal confirmation on 29th July 1624. In March of the same year James, Earl of Home,

had charter of some lands in the parish. On 1st March 1644, a charter of the lands of Greenlaw Redpath was given anew by the king to Alexander Home of Halyburton, brother of Sir James Home, husband of Lady Anne Home. In the confirmation of the lands they are said to have been resigned by Alison Logane, daughter of the late Andrew Logane (*R. G. S.*).

The lands subsequently passed into the hands of Alexander Home of Kello and John Home his son. In July 1653 there was a decreet apprising the lands from them, and in August 1653 there was a royal confirmation of the lands to Sir John Home of Blackadder. In February 1663, his son, Sir John Home of Blackadder, was retoured heir of the lands (*Berwickshire Retours*); they were resigned by him on 9th October 1673, in favour of Sir Patrick Home of Marchmont.

About this time a branch of the "Homes of Greenlaw Castle" is mentioned as possessing some lands of the barony; in September 1674, William Home of Greenlaw Castle was seized in Greenlaw Castle, Henlawes, and Claydub.

Although Sir Patrick had the lands resigned in his favour in 1673, it was not till February 1697 that, after all bonds and apprisings had been removed from them according to legal form, he got possession of full title by charter

of resignation and apprising under the great seal. Greenlawdean was in the possession of Sir James Home, son of Sir George Home of Blackadder, who was alive in 1677.

Sir Patrick Home was created a peer of Scotland by the title of Lord Polwarth on 26th December 1690, and Earl of Marchmont, Viscount of Blasonberrie, Lord Polwarth, Redbraes[1] and Greenlaw, on 23rd April 1697.

The title of Blasonberrie was taken from a place of that name, which appears to have stood on the height on the west side of the Blackadder, opposite Greenlawdean. The field in which it stood is named Blasonberry, and is on the farm of Broomhill (now incorporated with Greenlawdean) about a quarter of a mile to the north of Greenlaw, on the old Edinburgh Road.

By a charter of Resignation and Erection under the great seal, dated 31st January 1704, the baronies of Polwarth, Redbraes, and Greenlaw, were united and incorporated into "ane haill and free lordship and regality of Marchmont." This charter "ordained the town and burgh of Greenlaw to be the principal head burgh of the said regality in all time coming."

[1] Red Braes was the name of the manor house previous to the present one. The two wings are still standing, and are occupied by the land steward and others.

In the charter all the powers as to proclamations, creating and swearing in of burgesses, selling, buying, and trading, holding of two yearly fairs, etc., conferred by the charters erecting Greenlaw into a burgh of barony were included.

The right of Regality gave power to summon before the courts of the Regality all delinquents, civil and criminal, and to administer justice in all causes civil and criminal, the crime of "lese Majesty" excepted.

One sasine to be taken at the castle of Greenlaw was to be sufficient for the whole barony of Greenlaw, lands of Beinston and Rowandston, annexed to the said barony; and one sasine at the Mercat Cross of Greenlaw to be sufficient for the whole Regality.

Under the charter, a Regality Court was established in Greenlaw. Unfortunately, few of the records of the court are known to exist, and only a few of these are of interest, most of them being cases of protested bills.

One or two dispositions and tacks of property are entered in the records, and one is interesting from the rights conferred in the title deeds. It is a tack by Robert Lunham, tenant in Broomhill, dated September 1725, of a house "built upon the south of the cross of Greenlaw," and three acres of land adjoining.

After a description of the property it is added, "Together with the priveledge of casting truffs and fewall in Greenlaw Common, and common pasturage thereon, and casting peats in the Hoolmoss." The ex-bank house, immediately west of the Castle Inn Square, stands almost directly south of the site on which the said cross stood.

In the entries there is mention of a dwelling house named "Greenlaw Well Tree." A John Miller lived there in 1723. The old ash-trees (now down) at the "Well Tree," the source of the first water supply for the town, marked the site of the dwelling.

Frequently a portion of the fines adjudged in the Regality Court was handed over to the kirk session. There is a receipt, dated 2nd April 1741, by John Home, minister in Greenlaw, for £3 (sterling), being part of the fine recovered from Alexander Bell, tenant in Greenlaw Mill, by a sentence of the Bailie of the Regality Court, which by the term of the sentence "is appropriated to the kirk session of Greenlaw for behoof of the poor" (*Berwickshire Sheriff Court Records Deeds*, vol. 30, p. 705).

We have not come across the names of any of the Bailies of the Regality, and have noticed the name of only one of the officials, that of Andrew Armstrong, in 1741. The

jurisdiction of Regalities was abolished under the "Abolition of Heritable Jurisdiction Act, 1748," the Earl of Marchmont receiving £300 as compensation for the Regality of Marchmont.

The Greenlaw Regality Court was succeeded by a Burgh of Barony Court, which was confined to matters of minor importance.[1] The first of the Bailies of the Barony we have noticed is Robert Craw of Howlawrig in 1692. Next in order, so far as can be made out, were Robert Grieve, tenant in Eastfield, appointed 20th May 1769; Alexander Bell, tenant in Greenlawdean and Greenlaw Mill, appointed 24th June 1772; Peter Trotter, Hume, August 1780; William Dickson, schoolmaster, Greenlaw, 1781; William Alexander, Woodend, April 1782, and Walter Clinkscale, schoolmaster. The date of Clinkscale's appointment cannot be stated with certainty, but probably it was shortly after 1800, as he was appointed schoolmaster in 1787. The jurisdiction of the bailie, it should be noted, comprehended the baronies of Greenlaw, Redbraes, Polwarth, and Hume. The barony of Hume was bought by the Earl of Marchmont in 1766.

The only record of the Greenlaw barony court we have met with is dated 14th

[1] For their powers, see *Erskine's Institutes.*

May 1815, and relates to a complaint by one "John Chartress, Fewar in Greenlaw" to the effect that, "while he and his family were at divine service, his dwelling-house was forcibly broken into, and cash and other effects carried away, and as James Watherly, servt. to John Gray, Dyer in Greenlaw, was seen near to the house, along with some other person unknown, he had just cause to suspect them of the robbery." He therefore petitioned that warrant be granted to apprehend and examine them. Though the burglary was committed on a Sunday, the complaint was made and the warrant granted on that day, which shows, at any rate, prompt action on the part both of John and of the court.

Of all the bailies, most is known about Bailie Clinkscale. He would appear to have been a man of hasty temper, as we find that in June 1791, he "assaulted John Idington in Woolstruther (Westruther), wounding him severely in the cheek and afterwards stabbing him under the right ear with a knife." During his term of office he made encroachments on the liberties and rights of the town. It was due to his representations that "the Avenue" at the parish school (as it was then) was planted with trees, thus closing it as a road for carts to the Acre lands lying to the north and south of it. It was said by persons of

the last generation that this got the name "Avenue" as being an approach to Marchmont. At the east end of the avenue plantation, according to the same authority, the road deviated across Dickson's field on the west of Piersknowe to the line of the present road to Marchmont.

In 1815 Bailie Clinkscale, apparently in his own interest, closed public access to the town green and put in his own cattle to graze. This high-handed action was challenged by some public-spirited townsmen—Messrs Thomas Knox (father of the late John Knox), John Craw, Thomas Ledgertwood, and some others—who broke down the obstructions and went into the green and played a game of quoits in order to assert the town's right. This action led to a law plea, the nature of which may be gathered from the interlocutors issued.

The first was dated 2nd March 1815, and in this the Sheriff-substitute finds, "The petitioners as well as the public at large have right thereto as the Market-place of Greenlaw, the head burgh of the county, for all lawful purposes at all times, and decerns accordingly. . . . But finds the present enclosing thereof, with entries at proper places, does not preclude the above purposes."

On 8th June 1815 another interlocutor was

issued, in which the Sheriff found that "the persons called in this process cannot be found liable in expenses." This was followed by another dated 6th July 1815, in which the Sheriff-substitute modified the expenses to three guineas, "to be paid by the collector of cess as being incurred in ascertaining the right of the public to the use of the Town Green and Market-place of Greenlaw, the head burgh of the county" (*Sheriff Diet Book*). The title of the process is "Knox and Others *v.* Sir William Purves." It appears from the interlocutors that previous to this action the green was unenclosed and without gates of entrance.

Bailie Clinkscale was the last of the baron bailies.

CHAPTER XVI

BURGH RIGHTS, COUNTY TOWN, AND SHERIFF COURTS

From all that is known, the rights granted to Greenlaw as a burgh of barony do not seem to have been exercised to any great extent. The privilege of fairs, to judge from the reference to them in a subsequent charter to Earl Patrick of Marchmont, appears to have been acted on; this grant was the foundation of the subsequent Greenlaw fairs. The powers in the grant passed with the barony to the next possessor.

It is uncertain how far the erection of Greenlaw to the status of county town was acted on. The higher interests and great affairs of State with which the Earl of Dunbar was so actively engaged, probably led to the neglect of the interests of Greenlaw barony. The occurrence of his death soon afterwards (1611), and the embarrassed condition of his affairs, with consequent dissensions in his

family, led to the interests of Greenlaw barony being neglected. In these circumstances the Homes of Ayton appear to have taken advantage of the situation for the opposing interests of their town of Dunse; the status of county town being a position coveted by the greater landlords each for his own barony town.

However this may have been, we find that in 1617, possibly earlier, sheriff courts were held at Dunse, and continued so till 1696, when they were removed to Greenlaw.

The Commissary Courts were held at Dunse from 1654 to 1657; in September of the same year they were removed to Langton, where they continued to be held till they were removed to Lauder in 1661. They continued there till 1898, when they were removed to Dunse on the death of Mr Robert Romanes, the last Commissary under the old regime.

Judging from the shire name, Berwickshire, Berwick would appear to have been the original county town.

In the retour of service of Margaret Sinclair as one of the heirs of her grandfather in the lands of Kimmergham, the "Inquisition was made at Berwick-upon-Tweed in the court of the county of Berwick, tried in the court house of the same, in presence of Adam de Hepburne de Dunsyar, Sheriff of Berwick (Berwickshire), and a jury, 7th April 1467." (MSS. of Sir

Hugh H. Campbell, Bart. of Marchmont, p. 65, Historical MSS. Commission.)

After the town of Berwick passed into the possession of England in 1482, Greenlaw is the first recorded head town of the shire, having been made so in 1596.

Previous to 1596, sheriff courts appear in many cases to have been held at different places, as was found convenient. For example, a retour court was held at Dunse on 12th December 1456, by Patrick Hepburne of Hailes, sheriff principal; one at West Gordon on 28th May 1534, by "William Cockburn of Choiclee, sheriff-depute of that noble and potent Earl of Bothwell"; one at Grinlaw, 21st July 1535, by Alexander Home, brother german to John Home of Coldingknowes, sheriff-depute of Berwick; one at Lauder, 29th May 1545, by William Murray, sheriff-depute; one at Langton, 5th March 1559, by John Cockburn of Chapelcleuch, sheriff-depute; another at same place by same sheriff; and another at Dunse, 6th October 1574 (from *Berwickshire Retours*).

Light is thrown on the question of court places in the process of "infefting Lord Home in the offices of sheriffship of Berwick and Bailie of Lauderdale."

"Infeftment was given to Lord Home's attorney by the delivery to him of staff and

book. Done, on 9th January 1567-68, in the court house of the burgh of Lauder, and on the 11th and 12th in the church (temple) of Langton, and at the Market Cross of Dunse respectively, as the usual places for holding courts of the sheriffdom and bailiary." (MSS. of the Earl of Home, Historical MSS. Commission, p. 111.)

The court house of Lauder had, of course, reference to the bailieship; the court house of Langton to the sheriffship; and the Market Cross of Dunse to the place of public proclamation.

Greenlaw continued to be the county town till 1661, when the status was transferred to Dunse by Act of Parliament. By another Act in 1670, Lauder was made sharer of the honour and privileges, to the extent that proclamations might be made there, and with certain privileges as to poyndings. The sasine records were also appointed to be kept there. It may be believed that the respective influences of the Homes of Ayton (who possessed the town of Dunse) and the Duke of Lauderdale would be exercised in aiding the passing of these Acts.

Patrick, Earl of Marchmont, acquired the barony of Greenlaw about 1673. When the troubles in which he was involved previous to 1688 were over, his forfeiture rescinded, and

his estates restored, he sought to recover what he considered were his rights and privileges in connection with Greenlaw barony. He succeeded in obtaining an Act of Parliament, 9th October 1696, which, proceeding upon the recital of the rights and charters granted in favour of Sir George Home of Spott, did statute and ordain and declare the town of Greenlaw to be the head burgh of the shire of Berwick, that courts should be held there and proclamations made.

The Act was carried out accordingly in its entirety. The sheriff-court officials and lawyers had their offices and residences in Greenlaw, but the sheriff-deputes lived at their respective mansion houses.

John Fullerton of Auchinhay, 1710-22, lived at Bellataw; John Dickson of Antonshill, May 1710-33, sole depute from 1722, lived at Antonshill; James Gordon of Gordonbank (sheriff-substitute), 1710, and George Gordon of Gordonbank, 1765-79, both lived at Gordonbank; James Redpath of Angelraw (joint sheriff-depute), 1731-33, and William (afterwards Sir William) Purves of Purves (Purves-hall), joint 1730, both lived at their respective mansions; and so of others.

In 1739 an unsuccessful attempt was made to make Dunse the county town. The attempt was renewed in 1790 and in 1810, but these

likewise were failures. Marchmont estate, when the last of these attempts was made, was under trustees, of whom Mr John Wauchope of Niddrie was principal. They strenuously resisted the proposed encroachment, letting it be known that they were prepared to make calls on the estate to prevent the change.

The attempts on the privileges of Greenlaw as the county town were ultimately so far successful, that on 14th July 1853—the acquiescence of the lord of the manor, Sir Hugh H. Campbell of Marchmont, Bart., having been secured—an Act of Parliament was passed, authorising Sheriff and Commissary Courts to be held at Dunse. Trials by jury were, however, to be held at Greenlaw, and it was also enacted that while the office of the sheriff-clerk was to be kept at Dunse, all extracts of judgments and the records of deeds were to continue to be kept at Greenlaw under the charge of a depute to be appointed by the sheriff-clerk, which depute should reside at Greenlaw.

At a meeting of the Commissioners of Supply held at Greenlaw in May 1889, it was agreed, on the motion of Mr James Mack of Coveyheugh, seconded by Sir George Houston-Boswall, to petition Parliament to insert a clause in the Local Government Bill, to make Dunse the county town for the purposes of the Act. Nothing, however, came

of the proposal. The agitation still continued as opportunity offered, and office buildings and police cells were erected at Dunse to prepare the way for the desired change.

In 1892 the County Council prepared a plan of police cells and offices to be erected at Dunse at an estimated cost of £6000. Against this a strong protest was made by the western part of the county, and by a deputation who appeared at the next council meeting. A less expensive proposal, showing an estimated cost of £1400, was subsequently agreed upon. This policy of adding to the judicial buildings at Dunse continued to be acted on by the council, who at the same time were strongly supported by the sheriff court officials and bar, all with the view of transferring the whole judicial business from Greenlaw to Dunse with the status of county town. In 1900 negotiations were entered into with the Secretary for Scotland and the Lord Advocate, and a promise was given by them that when the plans for the extension of the Sheriff Court Buildings were approved, estimates taken, and the work begun so as to secure the erection of the necessary buildings, they would endeavour to secure the passing of a bill, making Dunse the county town. The conditions having been complied with, a hybrid bill was introduced into Parliament by the Secretary for Scotland

in the session of 1900, and passed through the various stages. But near the close of the session, when the bill was in the House of Commons, it was discovered that, as the bill was partly a private bill, certain formalities which should have been observed had been overlooked, and there not being time to remedy the neglect that session, the bill failed to pass.

Next session (1901) the Secretary for Scotland again introduced the bill, this time as a public bill, the outcome of negotiations with the examiners of bills in both Houses of Parliament by Lord Tweedmouth and Mr H. J. Tennant, M.P. for the county, at the instance of a deputation from the County Council. The bill passed through the Lords, and was introduced into the House of Commons by the Lord Advocate. The second reading was opposed by Mr John Dillon, M.P., but on a division it was carried by 271 to 56. When the bill came on for third reading at the close of the session, Mr Dillon again objected, and as there was no time to get through the business before the prorogation in face of this opposition, the bill was withdrawn.

[The bill was not introduced again till the session of 1903, when it passed through both Houses of Parliament, and received the royal assent on 30th June of that year.]

CHAPTER XVII

THE OLD JUDICIAL BUILDINGS

When Greenlaw was made the county town in 1696, new judicial buildings became necessary. A prison or correction house, as it was called, for "idle vagrants," which had previously been ordered to be built at Dunse, was now, in 1698, ordered to be built at Greenlaw. This jail, a court room, and a record room, were built by Earl Patrick of Marchmont at his own cost.

The jail then built was the present church tower or steeple; this form was adopted, so that while the building served the purpose of a prison, it should also present the appearance of a church tower. The jail consisted of five cells, one above the other, the lowest on the ground floor being what was called the "Thieves' Hole." This style and purpose excluded the idea of a surrounding guarding wall; and as for an exercise ground, such a thing was not then thought of.

In the "Thieves' Hole" were lodged the

worst criminals. The roof of the cell was arched over with stone, and in the wall were staples to which the prisoners were chained, a stone recess in the east wall being used as a bed or seat. The entrance door was studded with iron bolts, while outside of it was a strong iron grating door. The crooks on which it was hung still partly remain. A few feet eastward there was another door—the doorway of which is now closed up—opening into the cell, which was also guarded with a strong iron grating closing on it from the outside. This grating door still remains almost entire. The only light which the cell obtained was through this doorway, the wooden door being open during the day. Through the grating the inmates could see and converse with the outside world, and such conversations were frequent. Persons visited the cell to talk with them, and on the Sabbath, people on their way to the church adjoining, having to pass the cell, would sometimes stop and converse with the prisoners. When the wooden door was shut, there was total darkness within.

Communicating with the "Thieves' Hole," and directly in front of it, there was a small space outside, closed in on the top and on two sides with iron bars, and on the other side by that part of the west wall of the church that projects beyond the tower or jail. The

enclosure, which very much resembled an iron cage, was a kind of outer court, and was entered from the outside as well as from the prisoner's cell. Its purpose apparently was to allow the prisoner to leave his place of confinement for an occasional airing. The "Thieves' Hole" had no communication with the cells above. Loopholes were placed in the stair wall of the tower or jail—which was built into the church —opposite the respective cell doors ; and it has been said that the prisoners were understood to listen to the service that was being held within, through such of these loopholes as looked into the church. Only through the loopholes was light admitted to the stairs.

The upper part of the tower has always been used as a belfry and a clock tower. When the tower was built, a clock was put in, and the belfry church bell already existing was made to serve the double purpose of a clock bell and a church bell.

The tower seems to have been made after the style of such buildings in Holland, where also prevailed the style of ornamental gable presented by the church. In the building of the tower, Earl Patrick is said to have had the assistance of Dutch masons, which is probable enough, as he had lived some time in Holland. This would also account for the style of building.

The tower is a unique structure of its kind —rising square to a height of 60 feet, and ending in a corbelled parapet top. From this part the steeple proper—18 feet in height—takes its rise, ending in a point about 78 feet from the ground. The ascent to the parapet is by a spiral stone stair built with an enclosing wall on the side of the tower.

Standing close by the old church, to which it lends an air of additional antiquity, the tower imparts to the whole an appearance at once striking and impressive in association with the invested interest of past centuries. Situated on rising ground, the church and tower are the objects first noticed in approaching the town; and they form distinct and attractive features in the picture presented by the town and its surroundings.

The court buildings were two-storied, and they stood immediately to the west of the jail. In the upper part were the court room and the record room, and below were the debtors' room and the apartment occupied by the jailer as a dwelling-house. The former was in the west end of the building, and access to it was through the jailer's apartment, which was in the west end of the jail, with which it communicated by an entrance into the second cell from the bottom.

The building was finished in 1712, as appears

from an inscription on the front wall. The window sills of the four upper cells were subsequently raised to a height that put it beyond the power of prisoners to see out. This was done at the instance of the Rev. William Simpson,[1] minister of the parish, and was in accordance with the plan of prisons he had seen in Italy.

The close contiguous positions of the judicial buildings—court room on the west, church on the east, and jail between—suggested to a waggish visitor the following couplet, as quoted by Robert Chambers in his *Picture of Scotland*:—

> "Here stands the gospel and the law
> Wi' Hell's hole atween the twa."

The following is the inscription that was on the front wall of the court room :—

> "D. Patricius Hume Comes de Marchmont, &c., Hoc Burgi Pretorium suis sumptibus adificari fecit."

"This burgh court house was built by Patrick Hume, Earl of Marchmont, etc., at his own cost."

The remainder of the inscription, which is considerably wasted, seems to be an apostrophe to Queen Anne.

[1] See page 70.

When the old court room was taken down, the stone bearing the inscription was taken to Marchmont and built into the east wall of the garden, where it is still to be seen.

CHAPTER XVIII

SOME INMATES OF THE OLD JAIL

Reference has been made to the "Thieves' Hole" and its inmates. One of them, who excited the greatest interest and who was frequently interviewed in the manner before described, was Robert Scott, gamekeeper at Mellerstain. He had killed two Greenlaw men, Syme a horse couper and Aitchison a cooper, on their way home from Earlston fair on 29th June 1823. Syme and Scott had quarrelled at the fair. Both were the worse of drink. After Syme and Aitchison had left and were on their way home, Scott, instigated, it was said, by another man, a baker in Greenlaw, followed shortly afterwards and overtook them at a small plantation east of Fans farm steading. There the quarrel was renewed, with the result that both Syme and Aitchison were killed. Their bodies were mangled and their noses cut off, the weapon used by Scott (a powerful man) being a paling stob. Aitchison had had no

quarrel with Scott but, being along with Syme, shared his fate.

After the murder Scott, in a state of derangement, went to a farm servant's house at Lightfield, a farm steading near at hand, and knocked up the inmates, to whom he told what he had done, and asked for a drink of water, which he drank greedily, afterwards saying "he thought the two men might be brought round if they had a drink." He got the water and took it to his murdered victims. Scott made no attempt to escape, but went direct to his home, where he was apprehended the next day and taken to Greenlaw jail.

He was tried at Jedburgh on the 17th September 1823, found guilty, and condemned to be executed on Wednesday, 29th October following, "at such place as near to the farm steading or village of Fans as the sheriff-depute (of Berwickshire) or his substitute shall judge most convenient,"[1] between the hours of two and four in the afternoon. The body was afterwards "to be delivered over to Doctor Alexander Munro, Professor of Anatomy in the University of Edinburgh, to be by him publicly dissected and anatomised." The condemned man was kept in Jedburgh Castle till the morning of the execution, when he was delivered

[1] At that time executions were carried out at the scene of the crime.

over to the sheriff-depute and taken by him, under a guard of Roxburghshire Yeomanry, to the border of the county, where he was handed over, along with the death warrant, to William Boswell, sheriff-depute of Berwickshire, and under a guard of Berwickshire Yeomanry conveyed to the place of execution. The sentence was duly carried out in a field a little to the east of Fans farm steading, on the north side of the road, and the body, as directed, transmitted to Doctor Alexander Munro.

The murder and the execution caused great excitement throughout the district, and a large crowd witnessed the execution.

On the scaffold Scott repeated the Lord's Prayer. It was said by one who was present that when he came to the petition, "Give us this day our daily bread," he added the words, "to them that were to eat it."

The particulars in the accounts rendered are painfully curious and minute. In connection with Scott's confinement in Greenlaw jail, William Mathewson, Greenlaw, renders the account, "29th July 1823: To removing the Irons of Scott sundry times, 3s. 6d.; To 1 large swell Scott's Irons, 1s. 10d.; 2 rings for same, 1s." George Robertson, barber, Greenlaw, renders an account for shaving: "11 times at 2d. each time, 1s. 10d., and cutting Scott's hair, 2d." The accounts, after Scott was handed over to

the Sheriff of Berwickshire, are rendered to "The Right Hon. the Barons of Exchequer, by Andrew Easton, sheriff officer, Berwickshire." Among the items are the following: "Paid a joiner affixing chair in cart for conveying Scott from Earlston to the place of execution, 3s. 6d. Paid for conveying police officer and hangman going to the scaffold early in the morning of the execution to adjust the rops, etc. Paid additional expenses at Earlston ordered by the sheriff to superintend the watch on the scaffold; waiting on the sheriffs and giving instructions relative to the execution, 16s. 9d. For refreshments for the extraordinary constables at Greenlaw, while going to the execution of Scott, 5s. 9d. Paid Mr Carter, Earlston, for whiskey, etc., to the men watching the scaffold, per order of the sheriff per receipt 16s. 8d., and one bottle 2s. Paid Mr Dove, Fans, for straw. To Mr Carter for 3 bottles of whiskey for the men, 8s. 4d. To same for self and horse from Monday 27th till Wednesday 29th ordered to remain by the sheriff, £1, 6s. 6d. For a cheese to the men at the scaffold, 3d. Paid Walter Dickson, Fans, for breakfast for seven men, 7s. Also to same for eleven men for victuals watching the scaffold, £1, 6s. 10d.[1] To Andrew Darling for peats,

[1] It was said that the watchers amused themselves by playing cards, using the awaiting coffin as a table.

4s. 6d. To George Gibson, Gordon, for bread and candles for night when watching, 11s. 6d. To Mr Carter for a bottle of wine and gin ordered to be taken to the scaffold by the sheriff, 10s. Paid refreshments for the extraordinary constables when returning from the execution at Greenlaw, 5s. 6d. [Andrew means that the refreshments, not the execution, were at Greenlaw.] To tolls and corn for George Pringle's horse and cart when going to Earlston to convey Robert Scott's body to Edinburgh, 1s. 2½d. Paid bill at Earlston for two constables ordered to remain at the Inn by the sheriff 2 days, 13s. 9d. For a lanthern when escorting the corps to Edinburgh, 3d. Paid bill at Mr Shaw's, Lauder, when going to Edinburgh with the corps for men and horse, 13s. 3d. Paid a man watching the time the men were getting refreshments, 1s. To refreshments at Carfrae Mill for men and horse, 2s. 6d. Also at Pathhead for same, 1s. 6d. To a porter in Edinburgh conducting cart to the place where the corps was going, 1s. Paid fee to keeper of cottage getting admission, 1s. Paid porter searching for a Mr M'Kenzie, dissector, to take charge of the corps, 1s. Paid Bill at Mr Watson's, Edinburgh, for men and horse, £1, 19s. George Ingram's Account for men and horse returning from Edinburgh, 19s. 10d. Bill for self and horse in Edinburgh, £1, 4s. 9d.

Expenses in returning from Edinburgh to Dunse, 6s. 3d. Tolls going and returning from Edinburgh, 1s. 6½d. Total, £16, 1s. 1d."

These various charges constituted the Sheriff Officer's Account. What appears to be the total expense is given in an account rendered by Mr John Johnston, the Procurator-Fiscal, 15th December 1823, to the Exchequer, and approved—"For the execution of Robert Scott, £243, 2s. 7d."

The county authorities provided the gallows at a cost of £150; probably this is included in the above total. The gallows was afterwards kept in an outhouse belonging to Blandfield Cottage at a rent of £6 yearly.

The accounts present a gruesome picture. The conveyance of the corpse to a distance in a common cart, the stopping at inns for refreshments, with the setting of the dead watch without, the searching about in Edinburgh for the dissecting-room and the dissector, all formed a finale in keeping with the scene of the day.

In keeping with the prisons of the time, the discipline of the jail, although harsh, was not always strict, and allowed strange things to be done. One deed of fatal violence seems to have been perpetrated within its walls. In 1845 (about twenty years after the jail had been disused), when a portion of the stone arch roof of the "Thieves' Hole" was laid bare for

the purpose of making a connecting stair with the cell above in order to fit it up as a vestry room, there was discovered a human skeleton resting on the side of the arch. No clue to its history was traceable.

The aliment of the criminal prisoners was provided in the first instance by the jailer, and charged to the prison authorities. The cost per day ranged from 1½d. to 6d., 4d. being a common charge. The amount of diet seems to have formed an element of the punishment. Should a prisoner have made his escape from jail, the jailer's account for aliment was forfeited. Latterly, the food was provided by contract, usually 6d. per day. The jail, like many of the time, was not secure, and frequent escapes were made. Three female prisoners got out on one occasion, but all three were overtaken at Coldstream. In September 1805 a man charged with highway robbery made his escape, but was recaptured, as is intimated by the payment of a reward of £20. For allowing this prisoner to escape, the jailer, George Robertson, was dismissed.

Prisoners were frequently long detained in prison before being brought up for trial, especially in cases which had to go before the High Court of Justiciary. In June 1751, a prisoner named John Watson, weaver in Lendellhill, weary of his long detention, and

probably at the same time concerned as to the issue of his case, which was one of sheep-stealing, resorted to an extraordinary expedient to obtain his release. He presented a petition "Unto the Hon. the Justices of the Peace for the County of Berwick," in which he set forth that he had been confined in the jail of Grinlaw for seven months; that he had all along acknowledged his guilt, and was fully sensible of the loss he had brought on himself and family, and the burden on the county; that he was willing to undertake the office of hangman for the county all the days of his life, and find sufficient security for his good behaviour, if their honours "shall think fit to admit him to that office."

The reply to the petition was as follows:— "The Justices, considering the voluntary confession of the petitioner, against whom they do not find that there is any other evidence, considering also that the crime was not committed in Scotland, and that the office of Hangman is absolutely necessary for executing of justice and long wanted, the petitioner should be dismissed upon giving sufficient bail at the sight of the Clerk of the Peace, not only for his good behaviour in time coming, but also that he should faithfully exercise the said office during his life within the county."

William Tunno in Hume, and William

Watson, Dyster in Waddieflat in the parish of Gladsmuir, were accepted cautioners in £30 bail (*Records of the Justice of Peace Courts*).

From the foregoing it would appear that an executioner was a regular county official when a person could be got to fill the office. In connection with the above appointment of John Watson to the office, we may notice a reference to the existence of such an official in the name "hangman's acre," which was given to a piece of land forming the east boundary of the late John Buckham's feu (formerly James Gardiner's) in Marchmont Road. From this it may be presumed that the said functionary resided in Greenlaw. Of course, the carrying-out of all corporal punishments would be embraced in his general functions.

CHAPTER XIX

NEW PRISON AND NEW COUNTY BUILDINGS

The old jail having become insecure and no longer in keeping with what were considered the requirements of a proper prison, it was resolved to build a new one. The present building was erected on a site selected by Mr John Parker (formerly minister of the Associate congregation, Greenlaw), who had been appointed early in 1821 to make inquiries. The building was begun in 1821 and finished in 1824. "It consisted of two day rooms for felons, and one for debtors, with eighteen sleeping cells. There were three courts for exercise. The building was surrounded by a high wall, upon the top of which was a *chevaux de frieze.*" Such is the description given in the "Statistical Account of the Parish" by Abraham Home, the minister of the parish. He officiated at the laying of the foundation stone. The building was considered to be quite a first class prison,

and many came from a distance to examine it. The building stones were from Fangrist quarry. With the exception of some minor alterations, the prison exists as it was erected. It continued to be the county prison down to 1890, when it was used for fortnightly detentions ; and in 1896, it became simply a police station, fortnightly sentences being served at Dunse and longer sentences in the Calton prison at Edinburgh, in accordance with the new plan of diminishing the number of county prisons.

The superior security of the new prison did not prevent the escape of prisoners. A short time after it was opened, a young man named Gavin Simpson, accused of sheep-stealing, was lodged in it. The sheep were taken from a farm on the Spottiswoode estate, and the crime was then punishable with death. It was said that Mr Spottiswoode, anxious to avert a conviction, suggested to the jailer that Gavin should be allowed to escape. Accordingly, one afternoon, the jailer called out to his wife in a tone loud enough to be heard by Gavin, that he was going up to the North Moor with the dog, but that he would be back shortly. After the jailer had gone, Gavin, finding nothing to obstruct him, made for the door leading to the keeper's house and, as he was proceeding through the passage

to the front, he was met by the keeper's wife. She vainly endeavoured to stop him, calling out, "I'll set the dog on ye." "Oh," said Gavin, "the dog's away," and getting out, he easily scaled the wall surrounding the grounds, and making his way up the Blackadder haugh, succeeded in reaching the Heugh, a farm-place three miles east of Lauder, where his people lived.

Meanwhile, the alarm was given to the constables and the lieges. The senior constable, Adam Watson, hurried to the Castle Inn, and in the name of the king demanded the fleetest horse in the stable. Mr Potts, the landlord, whose sympathies were with the fugitive, was in no hurry to execute the order, and after a good deal of delay, brought out the slowest in his stud. In his hurry to get off, the constable neglected to provide himself with a whip or switch, and soon finding the need of this, he stopped at the door of Thomas Purves, tailor (now the ex-bank house), and in the king's name demanded a stick from Thomas, who was standing at the door. After some delay, Thomas brought out what some said was part of an old lapboard, and others a stave of a herring barrel. "That's no a stick," said the irate constable, to which Thomas replied, "It's the only thing of a stick I have"; and the constable rode off, threatening pains and penalties for the insult

offered to an officer of the law. When Gavin reached the Heugh, preparations were made for his escape. He, along with another man, secured horses and, partially disguised, took the road for Leith. They had not gone far when they met the Lauder constables mounted in search of the prisoner. It was at the close of the day and snow was falling, which conditions favoured the fugitives, so that they passed on without being recognised. Gavin ultimately succeeded in reaching Leith, whence he sailed for America. The keeper of the Greenlaw prison was saved from dismissal through the influence of Mr Spottiswoode.

Adam Watson was the last of the old village constables, and, as the representative of law and order, he was a striking contrast to the men composing the present force. Even in a profession which does not allow of the exhibition of the tender side, his general callousness was a notable feature of his character. He had one formula for all who were subjected to the law's penalties, and it was summed up in the words, "Keep up yer hert, yer case might been waur." It is said that when accompanying a man to the scaffold on one occasion, Adam said to the man when ascending the steps, "Aye, ma maun, keep up yer hert, yer case might been waur." How a man's case could well have been "waur" who was on the

point of being launched into eternity, only a man of Adam's sardonic humour could imagine.

In 1828 the question of new County Buildings was raised. Sir William Purves Hume Campbell of Marchmont offered to bear the half of the cost of the erection of new buildings. Ultimately he undertook to provide the whole cost, as the Commissioners could not agree as to the payment of one half. It is said that Sir William asked and obtained —though there is no written record of this— permission from the feuars to erect the buildings on the green.

The foundation stone of the new buildings was laid in presence of a large assemblage of people from all parts of the county, with Royal Arch Masonic honours, on 4th August 1829, by Vice-Admiral Sir David Milne Home of Milne Graden, K.C.B., K.G., second Grand Principal of the Superior Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Free Masons of Scotland, assisted by George Aitchison, Esq. of Drummore, Deputy Grand Principal, and Thomas M'Baine, Esq. of Fishwick, acting D.G.P.

A procession was formed at the east end of the town, composed of the sheriff of the county and members of his court, commissioners of the county, minister of the parish, the surgeon on the Marchmont estate,

the members of the Grand Lodge and of the Royal Arch Chapter, wearing the insignia of their craft, and marched along the High Street to the green where the ceremony took place. After the stone had been "well and truly laid," the Rev. Abraham Home, the minister of the parish, offered up prayer for the prosperous issue of the undertaking, and for long life and happiness to Sir William, by whose liberality and desire to afford employment to mechanics and labourers in the district the building had been undertaken. Sir David Milne Home made a short speech on the occasion, and concluded by saying that "he left the stone in its present state as a sacred deposit in the charge of the inhabitants of Greenlaw." In a cavity of the stone were placed three bottles containing coins of the realm, copies of the newspapers of the day, a list of office-bearers of the Supreme Chapter of the R.A. Freemasons of Scotland, and lists of the office-bearers of the Eyemouth and Dunse Chapters. Over the cavity was placed a silver plate. On one side was engraved the Marchmont Arms, with an inscription giving the date of the laying of the stone and stating the purpose for which the building was to be erected, with the names of those who took part in the ceremony. On the other side was a list of the principal county officials, the factor

on the Marchmont estate, the architect, the contractor, Sir William Purves Hume Campbell, Superior of Greenlaw, "Head Burgh of the County of Berwick" (created 1665), Hugh Purves Hume Campbell, Younger of Marchmont, born 15th December 1812.[1]

The buildings were completed in December 1831, the total cost being £6500. The building is of the Grecian order of architecture. The court room is a large hall, 60 feet in length by 40 feet in width, with a height to the ceiling of 28 feet. At each end of the hall there are two fluted columns with Corinthian capitals. There are likewise the other necessary rooms for the accommodation of the sheriff court and county business. The dome, which is fireproof, was adapted for a record room. The vestibule is a fine spacious entrance hall in which is placed a marble bust of Sir William, presented by the gentlemen of the county, as a token of their respect and gratitude for his munificence. The entrance to the building is by a flight of stone steps, the landing platform being flanked by an Ionic column at each side.

The building material is buff sandstone from Swinton quarry. The architect was Mr John Cunningham, and the contractor Mr William Waddell.

[1] A full account of the proceedings is given in the *Berwick Advertiser* and *Kelso Mail* newspapers of August 1829.

The records were not removed to the new building till 1840. After some years the dome was found to be damp and the records were removed to a room in the east wing of the building.

The first meeting held in the new hall was one by county landowners, shortly after it was finished, to protest against the Reform Bill of 1832.

The present Castle Inn was built about 1835. It replaced the old Castle Inn, which stood close to the street and had a large square to the back, formed by coachhouses and stables, the entrance to which was through a pend archway. The old inn was built by the last Earl of Marchmont.[1]

The County Buildings and Castle Inn are prominent edifices, the like of which are probably not to be seen in any country town.

[1] An interesting story is told of one of the old innkeepers—Martha Buchan—by Sir Walter Scott in a footnote to Waverley.

CHAPTER XX

TOWN GREEN—GREENLAW, AND LAMBDEN FAIRS

The green was the market place, and was involved in the Greenlaw plea previously noticed.[1] In it were the Market Cross—placed in the centre—and the Trone, to the west of the cross, more than half way between it and the west side of the green. A little to the east of the cross was the public well, which was arched over. The respective situations are shown in a plan of the town in Armstrong's Map of Berwickshire, of date 1771. The first Market Cross, so far as certainly known, was that erected by Earl Patrick about 1696 when Greenlaw was made the head burgh of the shire. The cross was a Corinthian pillar, surmounted by a lion, presenting the coat armorial of the Earl of Marchmont. It was taken down in 1829 in connection with the operations for the erection of the County Buildings and put into the "Thieves' Hole"

[1] See pages 142-3.

cell of the old prison, where it lay covered up with rubbish and out of mind till 1881, when it was unearthed in the course of improvements that were being made in the churchyard. The base, shaft, and capital were entire, but the surmounting lion was awanting. It was, however, set up as it was at the west of the church tower, where it now stands.

The "Trone" was a weighing machine for heavier wares, and was the most ancient system of weighing used in Scotland in all the markets. There was likewise a pillory, which was placed at the cross when required for the punishment of culprits—probably it always stood there.

It is recorded that on the 1st of November 1804, James Young, carter in Swinton, was tried before the Sheriff-depute of Berwickshire and a "most respectable jury" for the crime of stealing oats from a field belonging to Mr John Herriot, tenant in Ladykirk. He was found guilty and sentenced to a term of imprisonment, and on the last day of his term "to stand in the pillory in the market place of Greenlaw for one hour, bare-headed, and thereafter to be set at liberty."[1] With the erection of the new County Buildings these old-time features of the green were swept away.

[1] In the Police Accounts of the County for 1820 there is the item, "Expenses of punishing the Youngs, £53, 4s."

When the County Buildings were finished, the present stone walls—ashlar on the south and west with an ornamental top iron railing—were built round the green. Two large iron gates with ornamental stone pillars were placed in the south wall opposite the two sides of the Castle Inn Square. Trees were likewise planted round the edge of the green. The trees have all died out and the gates have been removed.

Under his charter Earl Patrick held two yearly fairs on the green: one on the 3rd May (afterwards changed to the 22nd), and the other on the last Thursday of October. The 3rd of May was the date of the summer fair granted to Sir George Home of Spott, whose rights of fair were conveyed with the barony to Patrick, who seems to have fixed on that date instead of the first Thursday of June as granted in his own charter.

The date of the summer fair is ascertained from an action by Air, the tacksman of the Greenlaw fairs and Markets and Customs, against Andrew Mack, cattle dealer, Gordon Mains, in November 1749. He was accused of regrating and forestalling and seeking to avoid paying the fair and market dues, as on 3rd May 1749 he had a parcel (lot) of cattle between Claydub and the Market Place of Greenlaw on the fair day, instead of bringing them into the market. Mack had refused to

pay the customs, denying that he had his cattle for sale, alleging that his men had been bringing them from some grass parks, and that they merely wished to see the fair. It was, however, proved that the cattle had stood from the forenoon till three o'clock, and he was fined as a forestaller, and had to pay the customs of the fair (*Sheriff Court Decreets*).

A good trade was done in cattle at these fairs, especially at the May fair, when cows were much in demand by hinds and herds. In addition to the usual krame variety of wares, the products of the shoemaker, the weaver, and the bickermaker, displayed on sheets spread out on the ground, were well represented. These formed quite a feature in all the old fairs. The customs which were drawn by the baron bailie and his assistants were, for cattle 2d. each and for krames 9d. each. The fairs were gala days, and large numbers of the young of both sexes turned out, especially in the afternoon and evening. The October fair was also a hiring for single servants. These fairs continued to be held till the introduction of monthly and auction sales led to their extinction. There is no account of any ceremonial opening of the fairs. The last one was held on 22nd May 1870.

Monthly markets for the sale of cattle and sheep were begun in 1834, the first being held

on the first Thursday of May. They were held on the first Thursday of each month, excepting August, when it was held on the first Thursday after St James's Fair. None was held during June, July, September, November and December. Latterly these too were given up, but an attempt was made in the early forties to revive them, and also to establish a market for hiring single servants. Only a few, however, were held.

A yearly fair was likewise held at Lambden, a hamlet in the south of the parish, on the 5th of October. It appears to have been a fair of some importance. It was formally opened by a procession of officials, headed by one bearing a spear (the symbol of authority), marching to the ground and declaring the fair to be duly opened for buying and selling. The fair continued to be held well into the earlier years of the nineteenth century, and is among the list of fairs given in the British Almanac and Universal Register for 1802. The spear used at the opening ceremony is still preserved in Lambden House.

There formerly also existed at Lambden an instrument of punishment called the "Jougs." A remnant of it is still to be seen in the part of a chain fastened into a wall near the farm steading.

CHAPTER XXI

SECESSION, AULD LICHT, AND FREE CHURCHES

The congregation locally known as the "Easter Meeting" was in connection with the Antiburgher Associate division of the Secession Church, afterwards known as the General Associate Synod, which was incorporated with the Relief to form the United Presbyterian Church. The first mention of the congregation is in a minute of meeting of session presided over by Mr Arnot, minister of Midlem, of date 7th April 1782. This being a meeting of a constituted session intimates that the congregation had been congregated before. The elders were: William Knox, Westruther, John Purves, weaver in Little Purveshall, John Wilson, and George White, Castlemill. No particular event is recorded as having led to the formation of the congregation; but sympathy with the doctrines and position of the Seceders appears to have been the moving cause. As indicating the attitude of the

minister of the parish, Mr Simpson, towards the new movement and the nature of the rights he deemed himself to possess, it is of interest to note that shortly after the formation of the congregation he sent a messenger to the managers requesting the collections, alleging that they were as much due to the poor as were the collections made in the parish church. The managers, however, took a different view, and refused the request.

How long before 1782 the movement to form a congregation took shape is not certainly known—we may assume not less than one or two years. We find that Sabbath services were held for some time in a barn at Broomhill farm-steading, a short distance from the town, on the Old Edinburgh Road. In 1783 a property consisting of two dwelling-houses of two storeys and a yard, situated on the south side of the High Street west from Church Street, was purchased at a cost of £115 by John Purves, one of the elders, from William Foreman of Sisterpath cornmill, previously a millwright in Greenlaw. As the purchase money was paid by the congregation, the purchase presumably was made for their behoof. The property was formally made over to trustees for the congregation by John Purves in 1786, with the right of entry as at Whitsunday 1785, in a tack of nineteen times

nineteen years, tack renewable on its expiry. The trustees were:—George Johnston, tenant in Rumbletonlaw, George White, tenant in Castlemill, Robert Robertson, tenant in Wedderlie, George Marshall, merchant in Hume, John Fulton, junior, Bessbury, William Fairbairn, tenant in Bedshiel, Francis Corsby, weaver in Greenlaw, and Andrew Jeffrey, weaver in Greenlaw. After purchase, the building was fitted up as a place of worship, in which condition it continued for a few years. By December 1791 the more complete equipment of the property as a place of worship was effected, as at that date the church is spoken of as the new church. If not then, it had shortly afterwards two end lofts. The building was of the height of a two-storied house, with a thatched roof, which it always retained. There were two large windows in front, with a smaller one on each side, and one for each loft. The pulpit was placed in the centre of the front wall. The floor was an earthen one throughout; latterly, the passages were laid with flags, and wood deals were placed in the pews. The entrance to the church was by two ordinary-sized doors, one at each side of the building. Excepting the two large front windows, the fabric, which was long and narrow, presented on the outside the appearance of a large dwelling-house. It is related

that, on a sacramental-preaching Saturday afternoon, while the congregation was worshipping, a fish hawker opened one of the inner doors and cried out, "Any fish wanted the day." Not getting a reply, he looked further in to push his sale, when, perceiving that the internal arrangements were not in keeping with those of an ordinary household, he grasped the situation and quickly made for the outside, feeling like one who had committed an act of sacrilege. One of the houses out of which the church fabric had been formed had previously been a public-house. It was in it that Thomas Pringle, a well-known Greenlaw man of good repute, enlisted into the army. He resided in Greenlaw as a pensioner many years afterwards. The church, which stood close to the street, was taken down in 1855, when the present one was built.

For rather a lengthened time after its formation, the congregation heard probationers, who at that time were few in number. Each probationer had a hearing of several Sabbaths. The preacher's fee for one Sabbath—two sermons—was 10s. 6d., with board for the week, and payment of horse hire in connection with his travel.

The first minister was Mr John M'Vitie, son of a farmer near Amisfield, Dumfries, who was called in January 1785, after a hearing of

seven Sabbaths. Upon his acceptance of the call, two elders went to Dumfries to escort him to Greenlaw, the journey being made on foot. Mr M'Vitie wrote home to his brothers, "that the journey had been enlivened by sweet spiritual conversation all the way."[1] Unfortunately, the names of the two elders are not mentioned. The call cost 7s. 6d.—5s. for the stamp and 2s. 6d. for writing it out.

Mr M'Vitie was ordained on the 24th of August following, by the Associate Presbytery of Earlston. Before the ordination the Presbytery met in the Castle Inn, then kept by Mrs Buchan. Mr David Morrison, Morebattle, preached and conducted the ordination services. After an interval, another sermon was preached by Mr Dalziel, Earlston.

Mrs Buchan's charges at the ordination were £2.

There is no mention of the membership, but it included members from Westruther, Houndslow, West Gordon, Hatchetnize, Bessbury, and other places.

Mr M'Vitie's stipend was £40 with house rent. In the earlier days of the Secession, however, and for some time after, a not inconsiderable addition was made to the

[1] For this information I am indebted to Mr M'Vitie, of Messrs M'Vitie & Price, Biscuit Manufacturers, Edinburgh, who is a grand-nephew of the minister. He has in his possession the call to Mr M'Vitie.

stipend by gifts from the more well-to-do members of the congregation. George White, Castlemill, R. Robertson, Wedderlie, George Johnston, Rumbletonlaw, and J. Fulton, Hatchetnize, were said to be the four "pillars" of the Greenlaw Meeting.

In those days, when at least two ministers assisted at the sacraments, fast days and preaching days (Saturday and Monday), the expenses were considerable. In addition to the personal entertainment, there was the cost of horse hire and keep besides communion elements, all of which were paid by the congregation. No sum as an allowance for sacramental expenses was given to the minister. The following is an account of the sacramental expenses for August 1786:—"To Peter Hogg, £1, 14s. 6d.; For Jin, 2s. 6d.; To Mr Dickison, 7s. 6d.; For Meat, £1, 13s.; For Porter, Bear, and Flour, 8s. 3d.; To Mr Smith, for Shugar, and for a quarter of mutton from Dunse, 8s.; For Tea, 5s.; in all, £4, 17s. 9d."

There were always special collections at these times; they were never less than £2, and on one occasion amounted to £5, 9s. 3d. The ordinary Sabbath collections in Mr M'Vitie's time ranged from 6s. to 14s. and 17s., and extraordinary ones, of which there were several, from £1, 14s. to £2. This in an infant congregation of small numbers testified

to their earnestness in the cause. There were then, as in earlier days, occasional drawbacks from the collections, due in great measure to the wretched condition of the currency. On 30th April 1787, there is the entry, "Exchanged for Bad Brass for £1, 3s. 8d. Got 14s." This is the only entry of the kind.

Mr M'Vitie's ministry was a short one. He died on 9th November 1787, after a ministry of two years and eleven weeks. He was buried in Greenlaw churchyard—south side—where a tombstone is erected to his memory; the funeral expenses were paid by the congregation. He left a widow, who afterwards married the Rev. Alexander Armstrong, North Shields.

There followed a vacancy in the congregation of fully two years. A call appears to have been given in 1788, as on that date there is the entry, "The collection that day the call was moderate, £2, 2s." The call, however, was not accepted.

John Parker.—A call was afterwards given to Mr John Parker, and he was ordained on 31st December 1789, by the Presbytery of Kelso. Previous to the ordination the Presbytery met in the house of Mr Peter Hogg. The moderator, Mr James Hogg, Kelso, preached and conducted the ordination

a sermon being also preached by Mr Breingan. It is stated that after the ordination, the Presbytery having given Mr Parker the right hand of fellowship, "the elders and such of the people of the congregation as conveniently could were desired to take him [Mr Parker] by the hand in token of their receiving him as their minister. And the rest of the people were desired to do so at the door at the close of public worship."

At his settlement Mr Parker's stipend was £52, with house rent and payment for sacramental expenses. The stipend was raised to £60 in 1799. The preacher's fee was still 10s. 6d. About four months after his ordination, Mr Parker got six guineas for clothes. At Mr M'Vitie's ordination, a merchant's account of £4, 7s. was paid "for things supplied to him," which was very probably a suit of clothes. It was long a custom in the Secession Church to present the minister with a new suit of clothes and hat, which he was to wear at his ordination. The custom was observed at the ordination of Mr Milne in December 1854. Thereafter the pulpit gown took the place of the suit of clothes.

Mr Parker's ministry extended to seventeen years. It was during his ministry that the custom of holding half yearly communions was introduced; these were held in the months of

May and October. After Mr Parker's connection with the congregation was severed, he continued to reside in Greenlaw, employing himself in literary work. He contributed largely to the *Christian Magazine*, the papers being over the signature of Philo-Pais, and P—s. They were afterwards published in two volumes under the title, *Parker's Letters.*

Mr Parker died on the 12th of November 1836, in his eightieth year, and was buried in Greenlaw churchyard, where a tombstone has been erected to his memory. He was married to Marianne Houliston, and left two sons and two daughters. His son John was the well-known and much-respected minister of Spring Garden Lane Church, Sunderland, formerly in connection with the Secession.

David Inglis.—Mr Parker was succeeded by Mr David Inglis, probationer. He was the fourth son of James Inglis, farmer, East Hall, parish of Cupar, and was ordained by the Presbytery of Kelso on 1st September 1807, the year in which he was licensed. Previous to the ordination, the Presbytery met in the Crown Inn (Mrs Ker's). The Rev. Mr Thomson, Dunse, preached and conducted all the ordination services; the Rev. Mr Scott, Leslie, at the invitation of the Presbytery, also preached.

At his settlement the stipend was £80, with house rent and the usual payment for maintaining ministers at communions. It was increased to £90 in 1816, and to £100 in 1831. About 1812 a manse was purchased by the congregation. The preacher's fee had risen to 15s. in 1807, and to £1 in 1816.

Soon after his settlement in Greenlaw, Mr Inglis established a Sabbath School, the first in the town. It was held in the evening, and was open to all the children in the place, and many came although their parents were not connected with the congregation. Mr Inglis was also one of the founders of the Greenlaw branch of the Bible Society in 1815.

He died on the 13th December 1842, in the 67th year of his age and the 36th of his ministry, and was buried in Greenlaw churchyard; his tombstone is close to that of Mr M'Vitie. Mr Inglis, who was married to a daughter of the Rev. Mr Archibald, Secession minister of Haddington, left a family of four sons and two daughters, all of whom emigrated to America. James, the eldest, was for some time a teacher of Roxburgh School, Kelso, but in America he was settled in a charge. Archibald followed farming; Richard became a distinguished physician and was settled in Detroit,

where he died of blood poisoning. David, the youngest, studied for the ministry in the Secession Divinity Hall, Edinburgh. He was licensed in 1845, at the age of twenty-one, by the Presbytery of Carlisle, in whose bounds (Penrith) he was then residing. Shortly afterwards he left for America, where he became an eminent minister, receiving the degrees of D.D. and LL.D. He held charges in Detroit, Bedford, Chester County, New York, Hamilton (Ontario), Montreal, and Toronto. He was also Professor of Systematic Theology in Knox College, Toronto, and then for five years minister in Brooklyn, where he died on the 15th December 1877, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, being predeceased by all his brothers and sisters. Both sisters were married, settled in America, and died there.

Robert Monteath.—On 29th April 1841, Mr Robert Monteath, probationer, Dunblane, was ordained colleague and successor to Mr Inglis by the Presbytery of Coldstream and Berwick. The services were conducted by the Rev. W. Ritchie, Dunse, J. Stark, Ayton, J. Hunter, Belford, and W. M'Lay, Stitchel. Mr Monteath's salary as colleague was £80, and Mr Inglis received £80 with the manse. On the death of Mr Inglis,

Mr Monteath became sole pastor, with a stipend of £100 and manse. Following on some disagreement with the congregation about a proposed new church and the contributing by the congregation to the newly launched "Augmentation of Stipend's Scheme," Mr Monteath resigned his charge on 14th February 1854, and his resignation was accepted in March following. In a few weeks he sailed for Canada, where he was engaged in active ministerial work for a number of years. He died at Toronto in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

John Milne, M.A.—The next minister was the Rev. John Milne, M.A., who belonged to Aberdeenshire. He was ordained by the Presbytery of Kelso on 7th December 1854. Mr Barclay, Leitholm, Mr Jarvie, Kelso, Mr Darling, Stitchel, and Mr Henry Renton, Kelso, officiated. The stipend was £110, afterwards in 1857 raised to £120, with manse. In 1855 a new church was built, to which he contributed £20, besides obtaining substantial help from outside sources. Mr Milne, owing to ill-health, resigned his charge in 1878. He was for some time minister of Possil Park Church, Glasgow, but subsequently retired to Edinburgh [where he died on the 17th June 1903].

Peter Wilson, M.A.—Mr Milne was succeeded by the Rev. Peter Wilson, M.A., who was ordained by the Presbytery of Kelso on 12th February 1879. The ministers who officiated were:—Messrs Pringle, Jedburgh, Jarvie, Kelso, and Ritchie, Yetholm. The stipend was £130 with manse, supplemented to the average of £180 from the Church Augmentation Fund. In 1882, the present handsome manse was built. Mr Wilson, on account of ill-health, resigned his charge in August 1894, and went to South Africa. He subsequently returned to this country, where he ministered for some time at Wamphray, in the Presbytery of Annandale, and Townhead Church, Dumfries. (He resigned the latter charge in August 1903.)

James F. Padkin.—Mr Wilson was succeeded by the Rev. James F. Padkin, who was ordained on 7th March 1895, by the Presbytery of Dunse. Messrs Lang, Spittal, Carmichael and Paterson, Dunse, were the ministers who took part in the services.

(Mr Padkin, in April 1903, accepted a call from George Street Church, Paisley, and demitted his charge on the 3rd of May of that year.)

Communion Plate and Tokens.—In 1786,

communion vessels were got. They consisted of two heavy plain flagons 11⅛ inches deep by 5 inches wide at top, without spouts, and four cups of a plain but neat style. Both the flagons and the cups were of pewter. They bore the inscription, "Associate Congregation of Greenlaw 1786." There is no entry as to their cost, nor of their having been presented by any one. They were used down to 1876 when new ones of a more ornate style were presented by Rev. John Milne, then minister.

Tokens.—Under April 1787, is the entry "To Mr Mabon, for 700 tokens and the mould, 16s. 6d." In size they are ⅝ of an inch square. On one side is the inscription, "Mr I. M'V., 1786"; on the other, "A. C. Greenlaw." These were the only tokens used down to the time when the modern system of communion cards was adopted. The arrangement of having literal tables at communions is seen in the entry under 30th April 1787: "To James Alexander for making the tables for the sacrament and stalls (supports), 12s." And the same year, "August 7th, for wood for the tables and stools for the sacrament, £1, 2s."

The Original Secession or Auld Licht Congregation—locally known as the

"Damside Meeting"—was formed about the year 1807. The principal originators of the congregation were the brothers Thomas and William Stobie, tailors, and Alexander Nisbet, farmer, Rumbleton. These had been members of the Burgher congregation at Stitchel, under Mr Coventry. After his death, they were dissatisfied with his successor, as they considered he held new views respecting the "binding obligations of the Covenant" and the power of the civil magistrate. They secured a place of meeting in Greenlaw—a built feu—immediately west of the Waulk Mill, and were occasionally supplied with sermon. A call was ultimately given to Mr John Inglis, but the choice gave great dissatisfaction to the Stobies, who were for waiting to hear other preachers. About a year after the ordination of Mr Inglis, they had a dispute with him as to whether Christ as Mediator was the object of worship, they affirming the positive, and Mr Inglis the negative. The question was debated at a congregational meeting with the result that the Stobies were thrust out of the eldership, and also the membership of the congregation. For some time they continued to attend the church as hearers. The case went to the Synod at Edinburgh in April 1809. Mr Inglis denied that he had taken up the position alleged. Dissatisfied with the decision of

the Synod, as well as with its attitude, the two brothers severed their connection with the denomination, and set up a church for themselves in their own house, and this service they continued till their death.

Mr Inglis died on the 5th of November 1832, and was buried in Greenlaw churchyard. He was the son of a small farmer who resided at Cambusnethan. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Mr Alexander Nisbet, Rumbleton, and had a family of two sons, Alexander and William, and two daughters, Margaret and Janet.

The number of Auld Licht congregations being few, Mr Inglis was frequently without assistance at sacramental times, and on these occasions conducted all the services himself. He would preach two sermons on the fast day, and two on the Saturday afternoon. On the Sabbath he would preach the introductory sermon, then the action sermon, fence the tables — "the debars" — serve five or more tables with an address before and after each, followed by another sermon. He would likewise conduct the evening service, and on the following Monday would preach other two sermons, and so end his sacramental services. In his Sabbath services on these occasions, fearing that his hearers might think that the

demands made upon him were more than he was able to fulfil, he would, to quiet these fears, remark that "notwithstanding the demands made upon him, the matter flowed in upon all hands."

Mr Inglis was succeeded by Mr JAMES YOUNG, who was ordained in 1834. During his pastorate — in December 1839 — the congregation joined the Established Church. Mr Young's stipend was £60. He resigned his charge in 1841, and shortly afterwards was appointed to a station in Berbice, Demerara. He subsequently returned to Scotland.

In 1842, the congregation called the Rev. JOHN FAIRBAIRN, from Ramsay, Canada West, on the faith of hearing his brother Patrick, then of Salton, afterwards Principal of Glasgow Free Church College. He was inducted in the July of the same year.

The congregation with their minister came out at the Disruption, and joining the denomination which was formed, became the FREE CHURCH congregation of the place. Under Mr Fairbairn's ministry the present church and manse were built. The Free Church School was also established, all these being in great measure owing to his liberality and exertions.

In 1883 Mr Fairbairn attained his jubilee, which was celebrated by special services. He removed to Edinburgh in 1891, and he died at Dunbar (to which place he had gone to spend the winter), on the 3rd of April 1895, aged 87 years. He was buried in Greenlaw churchyard. A marble tablet to his memory was placed in the vestibule of the church, by present and past members of the congregation and friends.

Mr Fairbairn was born at Halyburton, parish of Greenlaw, in 1808, being the second son of John Fairbairn, farmer, and of Jessie Johnston, of the Johnstons, farmers, Middlestots. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Cupar, in whose bounds he was at the time residing. He went to Canada in 1833, soon after receiving license, and was settled at Ramsay, from which place he was called to Greenlaw.

Mr Fairbairn was twice married, first to Mary Wilson, daughter of Mr Wilson of Campbell Field, Glasgow, and secondly to Agnes Turnbull, sister of the Rev. John Turnbull, Free Church minister of Eyemouth. He had one son by his first marriage, John, who emigrated to Queensland, and was in business at Rockhampton.

Rev. Alexander Cameron, M.A.—In

November 1875, the Rev. Alexander Cameron, M.A., was ordained colleague and successor to Mr Fairbairn, succeeding to the sole charge on the death of Mr Fairbairn.

Mr Cameron demitted his charge on the 11th November 1902.

CHAPTER XXII

SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

NOTWITHSTANDING Acts of Privy Council, and Acts of Parliament after the Reformation, enjoining the establishment of schools in every parish by the heritors, the work was of slow progress, the heritors being averse to assess themselves for the object. When a parish school was first planted in Greenlaw, the extant records do not show. Between 1659 and 1719, the records which might have fixed the date are wanting. There is a document, however, from which a closely approximate date may be taken. In a will by Thomas Broumfield, farmer, Greenlawdean, made in October 1667, the testator leaves 500 merks, the interest of which is to go to the relief of the schoolmaster of Greenlaw.[1] So the date may be fixed as between 1659 and 1667.

From the Berwickshire Court Records, we find the names of the two first known school-

[1] Page 124.

masters. We there learn that "a loan of 100 merks was given by Patrick Christie, schoolmaster in Greenlaw, to John Stevenson, younger of Ploughland. Dated at Greenlaw 19th March 1696." It is quite possible that this Patrick Christie was the first schoolmaster. His successor was David Borthwick. He was the writer of a bond, dated at Greenlaw 5th October 1703. He died in 1717, as appears from an entry in the kirk session's disbursements of 1720.

Alexander Redpath succeeded. He died in 1783, leaving a widow, Ann Gilliland, sister of the Rev. James Gilliland, minister of Greenlaw. Mr Redpath was buried in Greenlaw churchyard—south side. On the tombstone is an interesting inscription of family relationship.

Thomas Henderson followed Mr Redpath. He appears to have been a native of Gordon parish, and also to have filled the offices of Precentor and Session-clerk, as was usually done in those days. Mr Henderson died on 13th January 1773, at the age of 63, and was buried in Gordon churchyard.

William Dickson was the next school-

master. He was for some time Baron Bailie of Greenlaw barony. He died in 1787.

WALTER CLINKSCALE was his successor, and was appointed in 1787. He gave in his demission on 2nd December 1818. Being in poor circumstances, he petitioned the heritors and session for assistance, and they continued his salary as a retiring allowance.

WILLIAM HUME was appointed Mr Clinkscale's successor, in February 1819. He was the son of David Hume, blacksmith, Greenlaw, and worked with his father for some time before adopting the teaching profession. Before his appointment to Greenlaw school, he had been for some time a teacher at Tynninghame. He resigned in 18th April 1849, when he took a lease of Bailieknowe farm, near Stitchel. On the expiry of the lease he took the farm of Berrington, Northumberland, where he died 7th May 1869. He was buried in Greenlaw churchyard.

ANDREW CRAIG, from Kennoway, followed Mr Hume. He was appointed 29th May 1849, resigned September 1861, when he emigrated to Queensland, and shortly after received an appointment as railway manager. Mr Craig was a warm supporter of the

Volunteer movement, and was one of the principal promoters of the Greenlaw company.

John Williamson succeeded Mr Craig, being appointed 31st October 1861. Previous to this, he was assistant teacher of arithmetic to the Rev. Daniel Fraser, in Madras College, St Andrews. [Mr Williamson resigned 28th March 1904, and Mr Peers Knowles from Galashiels was appointed on 1st June of the same year.]

Side Schools.—During a great part of the time of Mr Hume's tenure of office, a side school was kept by a Mr Robert Wilson, who had no continuous schoolroom. It was at one time in Shaw's Lane, afterwards in an apartment of the Wauk Mill, and lastly in a house at the head of the Todholes. Mr Wilson died in Edinburgh. After him Mr James Turnbull for some time kept a side school in Church Street. After leaving Greenlaw, Mr Turnbull was engaged in teaching in Bannockburn and Edinburgh, and was later well known as an agent of the Scottish Temperance League.

It may be added that at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, there was a Dame School kept by a woman named Eppie Currie.

Free Church School.—In 1846, a school in connection with the Free Church was set up through the instrumentality of the Rev. John Fairbairn.

The first teacher was Mr William Kidd, from near Dalkeith. After a few years he resigned and emigrated to Tasmania, where he died. His successors were James Kerr, and Quintin Kerr, brothers. Both belonged to Cumnock, Ayrshire; the latter resigned on account of ill-health.

John Connor from Airdrie succeeded, being appointed in the beginning of 1870. He resigned in January 1874, on being appointed to Garelochhead Public School.

The last teacher was Mr James Davidson, who continued till the school was merged in the Public School in August 1876. Mr Davidson subsequently studied for the ministry of the Free Church, and was settled in a charge at North Berwick.

When the school was instituted the number of scholars enrolled was fifteen, but this number was soon greatly increased, and latterly the school was largely attended. When the school

was closed, Mr William Alexander, himself trained in it, and [till recently] headmaster of Leith Walk Public School, Edinburgh, stated that eighteen teachers had been wholly or partially trained there, of whom fourteen were pupil teachers, and ten were then actually engaged in the work of teaching.

CHAPTER XXIII

WAGES AND COST OF LIVING

In no way is the great change which has taken place in rural districts, and the general rise in the standard of living and comfort, more clearly seen than by comparing the rate of wages of those times with the wages paid at the present day. We give the wages current in Berwickshire in several trades during the period covered, from which the rates for other trades may readily be inferred.

In 1720, masons and joiners received 1s. 2d. and labourers 6d. per day. In 1731, thatchers were paid 10d. In 1744 journeymen shoemakers were paid $7\frac{1}{2}$d. for making a pair of shoes. By the year their wage was 25s. sterling, with bed and board valued at £5 sterling. In the same year the wage of a woman servant for the half year was £5 Scots (8s. 6d. sterling), a pair of shoes, value 22 pence, and a quarter of wool greased and spun, of the value of 2s. 6d., with board. In some

cases it was 10s. yearly, half a stone of wool, and a pair of shoes. In 1772, the value of a day's work on the statute labour roads was 6d. In 1787 tailors were paid 8½d. for making a pair of trousers, and 2s. 4d. for making a great-coat. In 1794 their wage was 6d. per day with victuals; before that time it was 4d. In the same year masons and carpenters were paid 1s. 6d., and labourers 10d. to 1s. per day; three years later the wage of a mason was 2s. and of a labourer 1s. 2d. At the building of the factor's house at Cessnock Lodge, near Greenlaw, in 1825, the daily pay was—masons 2s., labourers 1s. 6d. The same wages were paid at the building of the County Hall in Greenlaw, in 1829-31. In 1834 they had risen to 2s. 6d. and 1s. 8d. respectively. Master tailors were paid 1s. 6d. per day with food, and a journeyman's wages were 7s. per week with food. These continued to be the rates for tailors down to 1849 or a little after, when the custom of tailors working in the houses of their customers ("whipping the cat," as it was called) was practically given up. With exceptions according to the kind of work, labourers' wages continued at 1s. 6d. per day down to the early forties.

We have not seen any specific statement of the wages for handloom weaving when it was a thriving industry, as the masters usually

far outnumbered the journeymen; but they were fairly high according to the times. Latterly, after the introduction of machinery, wages were low. In 1834, weavers in Earlston could only make 9s. weekly, while in Coldingham, weavers weaving cotton for the Glasgow merchants made only 6s. weekly, working thirteen hours a day. These may be taken as representative wages.

The rate of wages prevailing in the periods just covered present a great contrast to those of the present time, when labourers have 4d. to 5d. an hour, masons 9d., joiners 8d., and other trades much the same, a few a little less. This great rise has taken place within the last thirty years (before 1900). In making the contrast it should also be kept in mind that the length of a working day in trades and for labourers has been shortened from ten, in some cases twelve hours, to eight and a half hours, counting six working day's average.

Turning to farm servants, we find that in 1751 the half yearly wages of a single man servant—that is, a servant living in the farmer's house—were "nine shillings sterling, a ewe lamb, or two shillings sterling as value thereof, a pair of hose, or sixpence as the value thereof." Board of course would be included.

In 1794, according to the "Statistical Account of Scotland," male servants employed

in husbandry got from 50s. to £3 per half year with their board; female servants from 30s. to £2.

In 1834 a single man farm-servant got from £9 to £11 yearly with board, and a single woman servant from £4, 10s. to £5, 5s. in summer, and from £1, 14s. to £2, 4s. in winter, all with board. The wages paid now (1902) are more than double.

In the case of hinds—farm-servants who lived on the farm—their wages cannot be given very definitely in money, as in former times and down to a recent period they were paid in kind; and the value of the wage therefore varied with the price of corn and other products which they had for sale over and above what was required for their own use. Along with their wage in kind—corn, meal, barley, potatoes, cow's grass, etc.—they had £3, £4, or £5, in money. In aggregate value their yearly wage in 1834 would be about £26, in some cases £28. Before that time it would be less, judging by the small wages of single servants then prevailing. For the following years, when there were more money payments, the yearly wage may be given as under: In 1847, £29 to £30; 1856, £31; 1867, £33, 10s.; 1872, about £48; in 1887 back to £40. In 1872 there was less paid in kind and more in money, with a rise. This change in the system

of payment, with a partial relapse, continued and extended, and now (1902) the payments, with the exception of potatoes or potato ground, are all in money; and the average wage, inclusive of a free house, is £50 yearly. Before the general rise in wages a hind occupied a favourable position, inasmuch as he and his family were always sure of their food; and dear years were to his advantage more than cheap years (which were fewer) were to his hurt.

Shepherds, in addition to the gains of a hind in kind had so many sheep pastured, making their wage much higher than that of a hind.[1]

Cost of Living.—In connection with wages, the cost of living calls for consideration. Going back to 1720, the date at which we have first noted wages, the average price of wheat in that year was 10s. 4d., of bear (barley) 11s. 3d., of oats 9s. 2d., of meal 10s. sterling, all per boll of six bushels. In 1777, the prices were 20s., 13s., 10s. 6d., and 12s. respectively. The highest rates between these two periods were 22s. 6d., 17s. 6d., 14s. 6d. and 16s. 8d., in 1772. In 1740-56-67-71-73-74, wheat was

[1] The foregoing statement of wages is drawn from various sources: from Sheriff Court Decreets, parochial disbursements, Statute Labour Papers, statements by persons concerned, and from private knowledge.

a little above 20s. And for the other years (in one of which it was 20s.) the average price of wheat was 14s. 9d. per boll, the other cereals in proportion.[1] These were what we would consider low prices, but compared with the rate of wages during the period, they were as high as 44s. 6d. to 59s. would be in relation to present wages.

The price of animal food was not very high in proportion to wages. In 1770 beef cost 2d. or 2½d., never exceeding 4d. per lb., lamb 1½d., veal 4d. and 5d., and mutton in like proportion; butter 4d., and cheese 3d. per lb. Animal food was used only by the middle and higher classes, and that only as salted meat during the winter. Though wheaten bread was partly used, bannocks of barley and pease meal and oat-cakes formed the principal household bread in gentlemen's families, and in those of the middle classes on ordinary occasions. No other bread was ever thought of. We have the evidence of contemporaries, that the common people lived on the simplest fare, consisting of oatmeal, barley meal, pease meal, skimmed milk, and potatoes. The latter came into use about 1760, when they were planted in the fields. The principal vegetable was

[1] The above is from the table of fiars of the county of Midlothian from 1645 to 1777 inclusive, as given in Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*. The prices would probably be somewhat lower in Berwickshire.

green kale. Their houses were hovels, with windows admitting as much light as to "make darkness visible"; the furniture mean and scant, clothing coarse and dear. Anything like the comforts of working people of the present day was never thought of. The history of the times represents the mass of the people as suffering great hardships. The years 1783, 1796, 1799, 1800, and 1801, in consequence of bad harvests, were dear years; the two or three latter especially being always known as the "dear years." Then oatmeal rose to 8s. and 9s. per stone, the full amount of a labourer's weekly wage.

In 1800, the average price of wheat was £6, 7s. per quarter; in 1801, £6, 8s. It fell in the succeeding years down to 1809, when it again rose. In that year it was £5, 6s.; in 1810, £5, 12s.; in 1811, £5, 12s.; in 1812, £5, 18s., and in 1813, £6. The distress among the working people in those years was very great. It was greatly aggravated by the substitution of mechanical for manual labour, which extinguished the industry of many a cottage dame with her spinning-wheel, and dislocated labour conditions in many departments, causing much suffering before new channels of industry were opened up.

After the peace of 1815, which threw a large number of discharged men on the labour

market, work was scarce, and consequently wages were low. Wheat rose to £5, 3s. per quarter in the autumn of 1816, reaching even a higher price in 1817. The Corn Laws had no doubt much to do with the high prices.

During the period reviewed, articles comprehended under the name of groceries, were much higher in price than now. Sugar was 8d. and 9d. per lb.; tea from 6s. to 10s. per lb.; soap 7d., and salt, the most essential article for food and health, was seven or eight times dearer than at present. Clothing, too, even for a considerable time after the introduction of weaving machinery, was much more expensive—in some cases double.

It is within the last forty years that the prices of such commodities have been so substantially lowered to the present level, while in the same period wages have risen to their present high point. Whilst groceries were so dear, eggs, butter, and butcher meat still continued at a lower price. Eggs were 4d. per dozen, butter 6d. per lb., butcher meat 6d. per lb. in 1829, and down to near 1840. But little butcher meat was then used by working people; those of them who could fed a pig which they killed for their own consumption.

Tea appears to have come into use in the district about the close of the eighteenth century. For long, almost to the middle of

the nineteenth century, it was sparingly used by working people. At first it was taken in secret by the housewives. The tea equipage was kept in the "press," a shelf in it being used as a table. The advantage of this arrangement was that on the possible entrance of a stranger or neighbour, all traces of the tea drinking could be shut out of view by closing the press door.

In connection with the foregoing sketch of the social condition of the people, it is worthy of notice that the Berwickshire lairds (they were probably not worse than those in other counties) appear to have been an impecunious class. They were frequent borrowers, and that often from shopkeepers, sometimes from tradesmen, and occasionally from their own servants of the higher grade. For the sums borrowed a bond was given and duly registered in the Sheriff Court Registers.

It was on the occasion of one of those years when food was dear and work was scarce, that Sir William Purves Hume Campbell, of Marchmont, set the working men of Greenlaw to trench a part of Greenlaw south common, just to give them work till better days returned. The portion trenched (again covered with whins) is still traceable by a fail dyke on the north and west, and the Kelso road on the east, near the station brae. It is related of some of the workers, heads of families, that

their dinners consisted of boiled turnips, brought by hungry boys, who looked on with wistful eyes to see if any residue would be left that they might get.

There is a famine tradition handed down in the parish about two women who lived in a house called the "Neuke"—now long since dismantled—which stood in the "fore field" of the Castle Inn farm. In a time of famine the two women, although they had no visible means of subsistence, always looked in good condition. It was afterwards discovered that they had lived on salted snails. According to one version of the narrative, this was ascertained after their death, when some remains of the snails were found in a jar. According to another version, it was discovered in a visitation to the house by the kirk session in the course of an investigation into the state of the poor at that time. The authorities were shocked at the discovery, and the two women, it is said, felt their position so keenly that they disappeared during the night and were never again heard of. This incident is said to have taken place during the early part of the eighteenth century; if so, it would be in the year 1705, a year of great famine.[1]

[1] Robert Chambers, in his *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii., page 167, refers to a similar case connected with Dundee.

CHAPTER XXIV

FORMER INDUSTRIES AND OCCUPATIONS

In former times several industries, which gave employment to a considerable number of people, were carried on; but the general application of machinery, and the industrial development and activity consequent thereon, have swept all these away.

Handloom Weaving at one time formed an important industry of the parish. At its height there were sixty weavers in the town besides a few in farm-places. When it is remembered that the population of the parish at no time exceeded 1442, which was the number in 1831, it will be seen that the proportion was a fairly large one. Amongst the families associated with the industry, were the Humes, Johnstons, Gardners, Galbraiths, Cochranes, Youngs, Watsons, Robertsons, Stobies, Lunhams, and Rankines. The last-mentioned gave his name to a place still

known as "Rankine's Brae"—two houses and a garden, that stood in the Easter Cow park.

The place where the housewives bleached their linen webs is still known by the name of the "Bleachfield." Being near the Waulk Mill dam, it was very convenient for the watering of the webs, which was done by means of wooden ladles having shanks 10 or 12 feet long. At that time shirt sheetings and such like, worn and used by the working classes especially, were made of linen material of "their own making" as it was called—that is, they prepared and spun the yarns, which they took to the weaver to be made into webs.

The lint from which the yarn was made was grown in the parish. Each hind and cottar on a farm had a piece of ground of from 50 to 60 yards in length by 5 yards in breadth, set apart for the growing of lint, as a part of their gains.[1] Great care required to be bestowed on its cultivation. When ripe, the plants were pulled up by the roots. The after-processes were rippling, retting—steeping in water-holes, scutching — breaking the bark, swingling—freeing it from its woody particles—all of which was done by the hand, employing the females of the household in the winter even-

[1] Lint was grown by the hinds in Middlethird, Gordon parish, as late as 1839.

ings. Having undergone these different processes, the lint was sent to the "heckler" (there was usually one in each village), by whom it was heckled—the fibres drawn straight and smoothed for spinning.

There was in later times a Lint Mill east of the town, at a place of that name, where lint was scutched and heckled by machinery. The housewives and maids "spun the tow"—the lint in the prepared state—into yarn on the little wheel, ready for the weaver. The weaving of woollen webs, prepared and supplied by the customers, and spun on the muckle wheel, also formed a considerable part of handloom industry. All the preparatory work for the weaving was carried on in households, and constituted quite an industry in itself.

The introduction of the machinery which superseded the handloom was not viewed by some weavers with the alarm usually associated with new machinery as applied to trades. James Gardner, a weaver in Greenlaw, in discussing the question with his neighbours, used to say "that they might get machinery to do many things, but they would never get it to weave cloth." The conviction, although unsound, was so far consolatory. The last of the handloom weaving industry in Greenlaw was represented by James Johnston and

Robert Hume. The former died in 1855, the latter in 1860.

The trade of a dyer in those days mainly consisted in dyeing the woollen yarns and woollen cloth, the joint products of the household and the handloom. Dyeing was an important part of the equipment of the early Waulk Mills, so common in the country. Their name signified their purpose, which was to waulk—thicken—and scour woollen cloths. They were not manufacturing mills, although some of them became such, more or less, whilst retaining their original name and serving their primary purpose. The occupiers of Waulk Mills were usually in early times mentioned as dyers. The first notice of Greenlaw Waulk Mill, so far as we have seen, is in May 1719, in a reference to "James Dickson, dyer in Greenlaw Waulk Mill." The names of Pearson in 1698, King in 1703, Dickson in 1712, occur as dyers in Greenlaw. In 1794, if not earlier, the Waulk Mill had advanced to the stage of a manufacturing mill. It was then in the occupancy of John Boyd, who is described as "Manufacturer, Greenlaw Waulk Mill." He gave a bond to Mr Wauchope, trustee on Marchmont estate, over his effects "in house, mill, and dye-house, workshop, and spinning-house."

Grinding Mills. — A large trade was formerly done by country grinding mills, when farmers and the occupants on the farm ground their corn for their own use at the mills to which they were thirled. The home produce of the fields then practically sufficed to provide food for all, so far as kind was concerned, except to some extent the special wants of the higher classes. At the beginning of winter, hinds and shepherds had so many bolls of oats ground, which served them for porridge and oatmeal during the greater part of the year. This supply was termed a "melder." The miller kept "pockmen" going about the country places collecting batches—pocks of corn, usually barley and pease—to be ground. The meal was returned in the same way. A considerable trade in oatmeal was done by many millers in connection with large town meal markets. The millers in Greenlaw and Gordon districts sent considerable supplies to Dalkeith Meal Market. This condition of things continued till about the middle of the nineteenth century. Now all is changed. The payment of the wages of the hinds in money instead of kind, the widespread use of tea and the practical disuse of porridge, the existence of large meal mills, and the importation of foreign flour, have led to the extinction, except for minor purposes, of the country mills.

There were formerly five grinding mills in Greenlaw parish: Halyburton, Lambden, Slegden, Greenlaw Castle, and Greenlaw town mill. This last alone now exists, and that only as a building; breaking corn being all that is done by it. The feus of Greenlaw and some neighbouring farms were thirled to Greenlaw Mill. Old Greenlaw was thirled to the Castle Mill.

Cabinetmaking. — In the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, cabinetmaking was a thriving industry in the town. It was carried on by the firm of John & Thomas Ledgertwood, who did a large business. The firm, however, got into difficulties and gave up business. They were succeeded by one Kerse, who however did not continue long in the trade. No others followed.

In connection with the Ledgertwood family it is of interest to note that one of their workmen, Walter Hately, married one of the daughters of Mr Ledgertwood. They had a son, Thomas Ledgertwood Hately, born in Greenlaw. The family subsequently removed to Edinburgh, where Thomas followed the musical profession. He became a well-known teacher of psalmody, and was the author of several popular psalm tunes.

Cooper Trade. — Another of the old industries was that of the cooper. The trade consisted in the making of wooden bowies (for holding milk, about 12 or 14 inches in diameter and 4 or 5 deep), bickers (for holding porridge or broth, used at meals), luggies (a smaller sized bicker with a handle, for children), ladles, kits (smaller sized tubs), and such like, to which was added the making of weavers' shuttles. The increasing use of earthenware dishes crushed out the industry many years ago. John Ovens, who lived at "Dambrig," and who died in 1864, was the last of the Greenlaw coopers.

Formerly, people brewed their own ale for home consumption. This accounts for the existence of maltsters in every parish and town in the country. They sold the malt in retail quantities to householders for brewing purposes. A number of them lived in Greenlaw in 1706, 1732, etc.

The Eggler.—Another calling, now long defunct, the very name of which, we believe, will be unfamiliar to the younger generation, was that of "The Eggler." An eggler was one who went about the country, usually on foot, collecting eggs from farmers, hinds, and shepherds, which he carried in a creel basket swung on his back. He had also

a hand basket in which he carried wares for sale.

Horn-Spoon Makers.—Another industry, though not a very large one, which we notice as in the list of those which have ceased, was that of horn-spoon making. The horner trade was confined to the families of the Gordons and the Youngs. The Gordons came originally from the north to Westruther, from which place they came to Greenlaw. Michael Gordon's daughter, Jean, who died in 1889, was the last of the spoonmakers.

Barnmen.—At one time barnmen were a quite distinct class of agricultural workers, but they have been long extinct. They were men who thrashed out the corn with the "flail." They were strongly opposed to the introduction of thrashing mills, which superseded the "flail."

CHAPTER XXV

RURAL DEPOPULATION—POSTING DAYS—ROYAL REQUISITIONS

In 1755 the population of the parish was 895. From that date, down to 1871 there was, with variations, a steady increase. The population was greatest in the 1831 census (1442), at the building of the county hall and Castle Inn. In 1871 the population was 1381, and since that date there has been a steady decline—both in the town and country—till in 1901 the population was 1014.

The story of decreasing population is common to all rural districts of late years, and may be attributable to various causes. One prominent cause of rural decrease, so far as Greenlaw parish is concerned, is the extinction of small farms on which, proportionally, a greater number of workers were kept than on the larger farms. On the larger farms also fewer workers are now employed, the introduction of machinery having displaced a good deal of manual labour.

In Greenlaw parish there were once twenty-eight or thirty small farms, which are now swallowed up by larger ones, and of which, with three exceptions, not one stone of the steadings is left. To the number may be added Bedshiel village, which consisted of five small farms, and which had its schoolmaster (see Bedshiel School). Now it is one farm, a "led" one—that is, one on which the farmer does not reside. The greater facilities of communication which now exist, and the closer intercourse between country places and large towns, with the desire on the part of some to better themselves and their families, and on the part of the younger people to be where there is more amusement and excitement, have all tended to the depopulation of country places. After all is said, however, it remains that the country is the natural feeder of the large towns; but if this could go on with much less rural depopulation, it would be to the great advantage of the common weal.

Posting Days.—Being on the great north road between Edinburgh and London, Greenlaw was a busy posting stage before the advent of the railways. In those days a large number of posting travellers passed through the town, while the Castle Inn was a favourite one for breaking the journey and staying over the

night. It was to meet the needs of the great road traffic that the present large and handsome inn was built. That was, however, too late in being done, as by that time this mode of locomotion was beginning to decline.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century the Royal Charlotte passed through Greenlaw to the south. A two-horse coach between Dunse and Greenlaw changed horses at Greenlaw at the Crown Inn.[1] In the late forties, the Eclipse, a two horse, and the Red Rover, and Quicksilver posted daily through the town and changed horses. In 1830, the Royal Mail was put on the road between Edinburgh and London. Its entrance to the town was always heralded by the guard sounding a blast on his trumpet or playing a tune on the bugle as a signal for the postman to be ready with his mail bag. Letters from London reached Greenlaw in about 40 hours, and from Edinburgh in $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours. The mail ceased to run about 1836-37. At that time the postage to Edinburgh was $7\frac{1}{2}$d., and to London 1s. 1d. Postal communications were then, however, comparatively few, and various expedients were resorted to by merchants and others to avoid payment. For example, a

[1] Sometimes during the changing of horses, the minister of the Relief congregation, Dunse, administered baptism in the house of a neighbouring family (John Mathewson), a member of his congregation.

person going to Edinburgh from Greenlaw, would inform his neighbours some time previously of his intended journey, and offer to take any letters. These were all put together as a parcel, and when the traveller arrived in Edinburgh, they were posted to the people in that city for 1d. each. Commercial firms would advise one of their customers in a town of the intended visit by their traveller, and request him to intimate the same to the other merchants. This was done to each customer in turn. In the early part of the nineteenth century, one Sandy Park went the post between Dunse and Greenlaw three days a week. Any letters for Gordon or Westruther that might be brought, usually lay in the Post Office till the following Sunday, when they would be taken away by the members of the Secession congregation, who came from these places, while any letters for outlying districts and country places just lay till called for. How great the contrast between those days and now, with three dispatches, and three arrivals of mails and three deliveries daily, and four rural runners.

Requisition for Royal Stages.—In 1617, His Majesty King James VI. visited Scotland for the first and only time after the Union. Requisition to carry the royal

baggage was made at certain stages. In a requisition for the stage between Berwick and Dunglass, Greenlaw was asked to provide 37 horses, Polwarth 13, Gordon 24, Hume 12, Bassingdane 9, Earlston 25, Longformacus 4, Langton 24, Dunse 20, Lauder 36, Chingilkirk 13, Fogo 24, Mairton 20, Stitchel 25, Kelso 50. There is no mention of Eccles in the requisition. The question naturally occurs, Was the great demand because of the amount of the royal baggage, or the bad state of the roads? Probably the latter cause would be as operative as the former.

Reminiscence of the '45.—A captain Gordon of Gordonbank, a place two miles south of Greenlaw, was a sympathiser with the Pretender, and others of Jacobite leanings used to meet at his house. In the rising of '45, a strong body of Highlanders passed through the town on their way south on a Sabbath day during the time of Divine worship. The preacher advised the congregation to keep quiet and show no signs of alarm. The party passed on without doing any injury or making any disturbance.[1]

[1] The author is indebted for this information to the late Rev. John Fraser.

CHAPTER XXVI

OLD AND NEW ROADS AND BRIDGES—TOWN CLOCK, ETC.

In a plan of the town made in 1771, a great many vacant places are shown on ground now occupied by buildings. For instance, from the Wester Bridge to Bleachfield entry, all is vacant ground with the exception of one feu—that which belonged to the Pringle family. There was a fine row of trees about 43 yards east from the Blackadder, alongside a dividing fence running due north from the High Street to the bend of the river. The road from the Bleachfield entry was continued up to the Blackadder, and crossed it by a ford to the haugh at the other side. Church Street and Dunse Road Streets were fully built up. The parish church showed two storeys of windows, six under and seven upper, with one entrance door in the centre of the building. There were several vacant places along the north

side of the High Street, but the feu of Robert Hume's house was built on. The manse was close to the road. On the south side, coming west, the first house standing was the one on John Knox's feu. There were no houses in the Mill Wynd except the one at the head, which formed part of the High Street, and the mill house and mill at the foot. There was one house at the head of Todholes on the east side, excluding the one in line with the High Street, and another 58 yards down on the same side. There was also one house on the west side, about 78 yards down from the High Street. The two small fields in Todholes, now belonging to Mr James Kerr, were known as the "Officer's lands."[1]

The Todholes is frequently noticed as a separate holding. It was long possessed by the Trotter family, and in the early part of the eighteenth century the owner is styled George Trotter of Todholes.

The Wester-raw seems to have been reckoned a place by itself, distinct from Greenlaw. It is frequently mentioned in title deeds of the seventeenth and eighteenth century as the "Wester-raw of Greenlaw."

With the exception of the Todholes, which was fued from the Earl of Home, all the feus of the town are held of the Marchmont

[1] See p. 5, note.

superiority, most of them having been bought in the time of the last Earl of Marchmont, who died in 1794. From entries in some of the title deeds the Earl seems to have had a plan on which he wished the feus laid out.

The First Wester Bridge across the Blackadder for vehicular traffic was a wooden one, which was followed by a stone one, for which the money was left by Thomas Broumfield (see *Broumfield Bequest*). The contractor was Andrew Lithgow of the same family as the Lithgows of Bedshiel. This bridge was immediately below the present one, and an old abutment of the arch is still remaining. The turnpike road from the bridge then went up the "Loan" towards Broomhill. The building of the present bridge was begun in September 1829, and finished in the end of 1830. The cost with alterations was £379, 11s. 1d. The contractor was John Oliver, Eccles. The High Street was then raised to its present level; previously it was on a level with the ground floor of Bridge End House (Mr Rogerson's). The new (present) road to Tibby's Inn near Heckspath, was made when the bridge was built, and cost £1254, 14s. 2d. Robert Brotherston, Gordon, was the contractor. The road was at first made to Rumbletonlaw

road end as originally estimated, but was prolonged to Tibby's Inn.

The new road south-east of Greenlaw from Greenside entry to Castle Mill Road—thus avoiding the Castle Loan Hill by the old road—was made at the same time and by the same contractor at a cost of £640, exclusive of land damages and land fencing. When these roads were completed, the tolls at Heckspathdean and Rowieston Bank were removed to Houndslow and Castle Loan respectively. The plans for the new roads were suggested and prepared by Mr James Cunningham, road surveyor. In 1831, the High Street was lowered between two and three feet from a little east of the Castle Inn, to within a short distance of the Wester Bridge.

Easter Bridge.—The first stone Easter Bridge was put up in 1770 at a cost of £275, 6s. 8d. Robert Reid, Coldstream, was the contractor. Previously there was a timber bridge. In July 1766, there is an entry in the kirk session's disbursements of "£12 (Scots) payed to John Jamieson for assisting in repairing the timber bridge." Before that date there are frequent entries of payments "for laying steps (through the Blackadder) in front of the manse." The

last entry is in 1751, and from that it may be inferred that up to that time there was simply a ford for passage.

The present Todholes ford has been used from early times in going southwards. In title deeds the Todholes road is spoken of as the Kelso Road. A bridge was first put across the Wester-raw burn in 1761, and in the kirk session's disbursements there is the following entry: "For the bridge over the Wester-raw burn, £3." In the kirk session books, 1725-31, there are repeated payments for "laying steps across the water at Halyburton and through the Fangres water." What was possibly, in former times, the main or common road, such as it was, from the English Border to the north by Greenlaw, may have been that road, of which traces are still, or were recently, to be seen, on entering at the south east of Greenside quarry field, and which, slanting north westwards, passed the town without crossing the Blackadder.

Town Clock.—The first town clock was put up by Patrick, Earl of Marchmont, when the judicial buildings which he erected were completed in 1712. The church belfry bell, then existing, was made to serve the purpose of a clock bell as well as a church bell. The bell bears the following inscription: "Thomas

Broumfield his gift to the kirk of Greenlaw, anno 1696 and refounded 1726, R.M. fecit Edr." There is the following entry in the session records 4th May 1727, in reference to the refounding: "Given out as the proportion upon the box for casting the bell anew, it being rent some time ago, the charges of the carriage and putting her up again, being the whole falling upon the box, the heritors paying two-thirds and the session one-third £40, 14s. 8d. (Scots), £3, 7s. 10½d. sterling." The expense of the upkeep of the clock seems to have been borne jointly by the heritors and the kirk session. There are regular entries of payments by the session for that purpose down to 1769, after which date they cease. In that year new machinery was put into the clock by Hugh, Earl of Marchmont, who also appears to have kept it in repair. Latterly it was kept up by the county authorities as being connected with the judicial buildings. The last caretaker was Alexander Tocher, watchmaker, who was paid £5 yearly. After his emigration to New Zealand in 1872 no other caretaker was appointed.

As a memorial of Queen Victoria's jubilee, a new clock was put up by public subscription by townspeople and natives of the town and others far and near. The old clock bell was at first used, but in December 1887, Sir Hugh

H. Campbell intimated his intention of presenting the clock bell which had been in use at Marchmont, and in April 1888 this was substituted for the old bell. The bell, which measures 15 inches in height, by 20 inches and 11 inches, has the inscription: "Patrick Hume, Earle of Marchmont, Lord High Chancelour of Scotland. Io: Meikle Fecit. Edr: 1702."

The first public supply of water was brought into the town from the Well Tree springs by Sir William Purves Campbell about 1829; and in 1878, a new and extended supply was introduced by the local authority. At the inauguration ceremony, Mr James Nisbet of Lambden presided, and the Rev. John Fraser planted a tree as a memorial of the occasion. Public street lighting was begun in the winter of 1880-81, and the town was formed into a scavenging district in 1895. In 1893 the pavements were laid with concrete, and various street improvements were carried out at a total cost of £622, 2s. 1d., all of which was raised by voluntary effort.

CHAPTER XXVII

RESURRECTION AND CHOLERA SCARES—REFORM BILL

The alarm caused by the doings of the Resurrectionists, as they were called, in the eighteens and twenties of last century, extended to Greenlaw as to other parishes. Guards were mounted at night in the churchyard, the men of the town watching in turn. The house of Johnnie Ramsay, the beadle, which stood at the head of the green close to the churchyard, was the guardhouse and from it the watchers sallied at intervals to see if any attempt was being made to interfere with the graves. Although there were suspicions of interferences having been made, there was no certain case. One man who had a hallucination insisted on having his wife's grave opened, but all was found undisturbed.

A George Lawrie, surgeon, Coldingham, who was charged with being concerned in the taking away of the body of a woman from a grave in Coldingham churchyard, was appre-

hended and put in Greenlaw prison. A story says that Thomas Young, the jailer, took ill during Lawrie's incarceration, and Lawrie prescribed for him. Young took the dose, and died on the same day.

After the revelations in 1828 of the doings of Burke and Hare there was an even greater alarm of danger to the living than of disturbance of the dead. The excited imagination, especially of juveniles, figured persons on the watch in the dark winter evenings, who would come stealthily behind the passenger walking along the road or street, clap a plaister on his mouth to prevent his giving an alarm, and instantly force him to a conveyance within easy reach to be taken to a convenient place, where he might be smothered to death and his body sold for dissection. There is no record of these fears having been actually realised in the district.

The Cholera of 1831 did not visit the parish, but the scare of it did and precautions were taken against its coming into the parish. The town was far from being in a sanitary condition, and measures were taken to remedy this state of matters, while blankets were given to the poorest of the people. A committee of health was appointed, whose duties were to visit each house in the town every morning, and to inquire

after the health of the inmates. Watchmen were placed at the entrances to the town to prevent the incoming of any person from infected places. An outlook was also kept on the streets, lest some one might have got in unawares. The names of three watchers are given—William Coltherd, Thomas Brown, pensioner, and William Mauchline. The cholera—"Cholera Morbus" as it was then called—had visited Kelso and Coldstream, where a number of deaths had taken place.[1] A strict watch was accordingly kept on the roads entering Greenlaw from these places, to prevent the entrance of persons travelling from them. These precautions notwithstanding, one "Tammie Saddler," husband of Nanny Cunningham, *alias* "Stocking Nannie"[2] (so called from her selling stockings), who had been at Kelso or its neighbourhood hawking his goods, managed to elude the vigilance of the watchers and get into the town on his return, without its being known where he had been. On this being discovered, he was at once apprehended by the parish constable and lodged in the "debtor's room" of the jail,

[1] A Greenlaw man, speaking to his neighbour about the cholera being in Kelso, said that General Forbess had come to Kelso.

[2] Tammie, like some other husbands, was known not so much by his own proper name, as from his relationship to his wife, who completely overshadowed him.

where he was kept in quarantine for some time before being set at liberty. These restrictions on travel necessarily interfered with the prosecution of certain callings, and extracts from the parochial records show that relief was granted to sufferers from this cause. One "Henry Hall, a dealer in earthenware, applied for parish relief because from the prevalence of cholera he was prevented from following his calling in the country." Henry was allowed 5s. weekly. Janet Proudfoot, alias Jenny Proudie, keeper of a lodging-house in Shaw's lane, "complained on same ground that there was so little intercourse, that none came into the town for lodging." She was allowed 2s. weekly.

The Reform Bill of 1832.—The news of the passing of this bill was received in Greenlaw with great rejoicing; and the event was celebrated by a procession of the inhabitants and country people with a display of flags and banners. The processionists wore the Whig colours, white and blue (the epithet Liberal had not then come into use). The procession met the Kelso St Crispin band, at the head of what is now the station hill, whence they marched through the town to a short distance beyond the Easter Bridge, where they turned and marched back to the green, halting in front of the County Hall. Here the usual

supply of ale was provided, and the toasts of the king, the prime minister, and the people were all pledged. A dinner in the Castle Inn followed, which was presided over by Mr James Cunningham, Road Surveyor, and the day's proceedings were finished by a dance in the same place.

In the election which followed, Mr Charles Marjoribanks, a son of Sir John Marjoribanks of the Lees, was elected M.P. for the county in opposition to the sitting member, Sir Anthony Maitland, brother of the Earl of Lauderdale, by a majority of 68. The contest, which was a keen one, was long recalled by those who took part in it. The Commissioners of Supply, who were nearly all Tories, refused Mr Marjoribanks the use of the County Hall for his meetings. He obtained the use of the Secession Meeting House where he addressed the electors and others from the pulpit. Mr Marjoribanks was very popular with the people, who spoke of him by the familiar name of "Charlie." He was a young man of great promise, and would have made his mark in the political world had he lived. But his career was cut short. On the day of the election he was chaired through the town shoulder high. It was meant as an honour, but it turned out a calamity. It was a cold December day, snow covering the ground. He caught a chill, which issued in his death about eighteen months afterwards.

CHAPTER XXVIII

FUNERAL CUSTOMS

Up till comparatively recent times it was customary for working people, when a member of the family died, to "sit up" each night with the corpse till the day of the funeral. The accommodation was too limited to allow of a separate room for the corpse, and it was felt to be "eerie" to sleep at night in the same room. This "sitting up" (the common name given to the custom) was not a "lykewake" (watching the dead) considered as a ceremony in relation to a dead body, but it was due to the existence of the feeling and the circumstances above stated. Neighbours usually relieved the family from constant sitting up, and refreshments were always provided.

In the kirk session disbursements there are several payments in connection with the custom of "sitting up." These payments seem to have been very considerable, the custom being observed, apparently, at the death of

almost every pauper. The allowances for refreshments were abundant and varied; luxuries even were not excluded, unless we consider that the smoking was to prevent infection or any evil resulting from the situation, the corpse room having been also the sick room.

We give a few entries as illustrative of the practice. On 28th May 1721, there is the entry, "Given out for the dead chest of James Robertson, £3, 10s.; for pipes and tobacco, 7s.; for making grave to him and the little bell at his funeral, £1, 2s." In 1726 there is the entry, "Paid for ale and cheese to the funerals of Robert Hyslop and Ann Smith, for meal, pipes, tobacco, and candles, the sum of £5, 12s." There are several entries of a similar kind, and others simply entered, as, for a "poor man," a "poor man's child," which shows that the custom prevailed in regard to all ages. Among other funeral payments "linnen" frequently appears; and for "necessaries" at the funerals of children there are entries of payments of 12s., 18s., £1, 1s., and £1, 4s.; these being in addition to payments for the coffins and the making of the graves. From an entry on 16th January 1763, we learn what kind of meal was supplied on these occasions, the entry being, "For a stone of oatmeal for Alexander Blackadder's funerals, £1, 4s."

The so-called "necessaries" were bread, cheese, ale, pipes, tobacco, and candle. The other expenses were the winding-sheet (linen) coffin, grave, and bell. Included in the expenditure would be the refreshments to people attending the funeral. This practice of serving refreshments lingered in a fitful way up to the middle of the nineteenth century, although it was observed at a funeral in 1873 and also as late as 1899.

That the kirk session provided these funeral "necessaries" in the case of their paupers, showed the strong hold the funeral customs had on the community. The last mention of these payments is in August 1798, when 7s. 6d. sterling was paid at the funeral of Agnes Brodie. This appears to intimate a change of view on the part of the kirk session regarding these customs, to the extent at least that if they were to be observed, the expense ought to be provided by the parties observing them.

In some parishes it is said to have been the custom, in order to save the expense of separate coffins, for the paupers to have a common bier. In being let down, it opened at the bottom, and so allowed the corpse to pass into the grave. There is no reference in the Greenlaw kirk session records to such a method, a coffin being provided in all cases.

The Parish Mortcloths.—At all funerals the use of the mortcloth was enforced. If not used it had to be paid for all the same; and a half charge was made in the case of a parishioner, who was buried in another parish, notwithstanding that the mortcloth of that parish was used. This is seen in the following entry: "December 13, 1730. Received upon the account of the velvet mortcloth for George ffairleys burial dues, for they used Dunse mortcloth he burying there, £2."

During the greater part of the eighteenth century with which we have been dealing there were three mortcloths. The best velvet, the second velvet, the cloth one, besides one for children. The charges for the adult mortcloths were £3 (Scots), £2, and £1 respectively, for use in the parish, more being charged for use in another parish. On 25th September 1720, £4 was charged for the best velvet mortcloth used "at the funeralls of old Lady Stitchell." The same was charged for the same mortcloth at the funeral of Alexander, Earl of Home, on 26th February 1721. The price paid for these mortcloths we find from several entries. On 26th November 1727 is the entry, "Given out for new velvet and shalloon for a new mortcloth £93, 18s., Making, silk thread, and stenting, for the samen, £3." On 7th June 1728, there was paid for "two pounds weight of black

mohair att six pounds Scots per lb., for a fringe to the second velvet mortcloth, and for making the same in a fringe and black searge for lyining it, £18, 17s. 6d." And to the "Taylor for making it, £2, 8s." On 9th October 1738, there is an entry to the effect "that the best mortcloth being very much worn, the session agreed to have a new one bought, and to make the best the second, and make up the remains of the second into a child's mortcloth. For this £144, 2s. (Scots) was paid. In the accounts the details of the prices are given in sterling and the totals in Scots money. Such a method of detailing the accounts is quite frequent up to the year 1772, after which the accounts were all kept in sterling money. Mortcloths have been disused at funerals now for a great many years, the custom ceasing in the 70's of last century.

The little bell and the great bell were rung at funerals. Judging from the entries, the little bell was used at the funerals of the poor, being rung at the churchyard gate, and the great bell—the clock bell in the steeple—was rung at the funerals of those whose relations were able to pay for it. In December 1732, James Redpath, beadle, was paid 4s. "for ringing the great bell at the funeral of John Craw's wife." This is the only specific notice of the charge, so far as we have observed.

The charge made for the little bell is never separately stated, being included, as in the case of the great bell, in other charges.

In those days, and down to within living memory, persons attended the funerals in their ordinary working attire, the weaver, the shoemaker, and the saddler following the bier with their aprons folded up. Such a custom had much to recommend it.

In connection with funerals we may notice a custom which seems to have prevailed at one time. We observed an example of it forty years ago (1861). At the funeral of a wife the husband was unable to attend, but he placed his hand on the coffin as it was being carried out of the house. This signified a last farewell to the departed, if not also his associating himself with the bearing of her to the grave.

CHAPTER XXIX

ANTIQUARIAN REMAINS, FINDS, ETC.

The parish, which is in the form of an irregular parallelogram, is about nine miles in length from north-west to south-east, and has an average breadth of three miles. It is bounded on the north by the parishes of Longformacus and part of Cranshaws, on the west by Gordon and Westruther, on the east by Polwarth and Fogo, and on the south by Eccles and Hume. The acreage is 12,149. The south portion of the parish is of a deep clayey soil and produces good crops; but much of the northern portion is moorland and uncultivated. There are two commons, the Wester-raw common on the south, extending to about 180 acres, and the north common, about a mile north of the town, consisting of about 770 acres. In the former common there is more green pasturage than on the latter, which consists mostly of heather interspersed with green patches. From time immemorial the townspeople have grazed

their cows on both commons under charge of a herd. In the house feu-charters, there is a clause giving a right to "fail and divot" in the common—usually the Wester-raw common—for use in connection with roof-thatching only. In most of the charters a place is to be pointed out where this is to be done; in others there is no restriction. In one feu-charter there is "the privilege of casting truffs and fewall in Grinlaw common and common pasturage thereon, and casting peats in the Hoolmoss.[1] And in another feu of house and land in Todholes—James Kerr—holding of the Earl of Home, there is a clause "together with the commons used and wont in the common muir of Grinlaw, Grinlaw Rigg, and in the marsh or moss of Grinlaw Kemp with all other pertinents thereto belonging."

About the year 1836 a law plea as to right of proprietorship in the commons was raised. It arose out of a proposal by the superior, Sir Hugh Hume Campbell, to make a plantation across the north part of the north common. His right to do so was challenged by several of the feuars, and he raised an action of

[1] This moss is now a loch, of over a mile in circumference, with an average depth of five feet. It seems to be fed by springs, as no streams run into it. The name "Hool" or "Huill" is given to it because of its situation in the hollow which covers it from view till close to it, as a pea or bean is covered in its shell or hule.

Declarator in the Court of Session against them. The agent of the feuars was Mr Greig, Eccles. The progress of the case was slow and inconsequent, and the calls upon the feuars for money were frequent, so that they withdrew from the case and allowed judgment to go against them. But the merits of the case were never reached. To the superior's credit be it said, that he did not afterwards seek to restrict the right of pasturage previously enjoyed. The process cost the litigant feuars £8 each; some feuars did not join in the plea.

In the north-east part of the parish is another moss, called Dogden—500 acres in extent. From this moss, down to past the middle of the last century, the people of the town obtained a large proportion of fuel in the form of peats. These, with turves, formed the staple fuel of most families.[1]

Harrit's Dyke.—About two miles north of the town there runs east and west across the north moor a mound or rampart with a ditch on the south side called "Harrit's Dyke." It begins on the west side of Dunse road, near to the entrance of Flourishwells farm, and runs westward for over a mile. For the first 240

[1] In 1814, Mr John Fairbairn, farmer, Halyburton, on which farm the moss is situated, sought to interdict the casting of peats from the moss, as injurious to his interests. He was not successful.

yards it is little more than a track, but after that, with one or two short breaks, it is quite conspicuous, although the rampart is much flattened and the ditch considerably filled up. In some portions the height of the dyke from the bottom of the ditch, is from four to five feet, with quite a slope on the north side, and a breadth of 12½ feet. The ditch is evident throughout the course, being seldom less than 2 or 3 feet deep, and narrow. The vestiges of the dyke and ditch end at the head of a gully leading down to the Fangrist water. The rank growth of heather along the course of the dyke very much lessens its prominence, but to that condition its preservation, such as it is, is due. The dyke is believed to have extended from a British village, called Harefaulds, on the farm of Blythe, near Lauder, eastwards to near Berwick-on-Tweed.

About 1757, Mr John Spottiswoode, of Spottiswoode, traced it from Harefaulds to the vicinity of Berwick. It was then in various places very discernible (Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. i., p. 243). In a Statistical Account of Greenlaw Parish for 1795, the dyke is said to have been formerly traceable 14 miles eastwards; and according to the Statistical Account of Westruther Parish for 1834, the track of the dyke north of that village was then visible. The only remains, however, of

this once great dyke are what we have described as running across the north moor.

That the rampart was built by a British tribe there is no doubt, but at what date is uncertain. It was a boundary and a defence. Speaking of boundary banks and ditches, Fosbrooke, in his *Antiquities*, says: "Others for defence had a high vallum on one side only, and a ditch on the other."

Blackcastle Rings.—About half a mile south-west from where the vestiges of the dyke end, and about two miles north of the town, is a British camp known as the Blackcastle Rings. It is situated on a precipitous height of 100 feet overlooking the Blackadder, near its confluence with the Fangrist water. A place called Blackcastle at one time stood near, overlooking the Fangrist water on the east side. The place is noted in Bleaw's Atlas, 1662, and in Moll's Atlas, 1721.

The site of the camp is a triangular space. The north-west side, facing the Blackadder, which flows near its base, is a steep declivity, with a rough surface of cropping out old red sandstone. On the south side is a narrow deep ravine, with a stream flowing through it.

On the east side, which is level ground stretching into the moors, are the walls or ramparts, three in number, all of earth with

defensive ditches. The esplanade between them and the two side declivities, forming a fine camping ground, measures 179 feet on the south side, 205 feet on north-west side, and 218 feet on east side. The inmost rampart, that next the esplanade, is 11½ feet high with ditch 7 feet wide and 10½ feet deep in front. At one part the sloping height of the rampart, from the bottom of the ditch, is 22 feet, being lower in other parts. Between this rampart and the second is a platform 40 feet wide. The second and third ramparts are lower by 4 and 9 feet than the highest parts of the first rampart. Between the two is a platform of 18 feet. Both are strengthened by a defensive ditch on each side of the platform. These ditches are more filled than the first ditch. The breadth of the ramparts is about 15 feet, the outer one being nearly levelled down. The ramparts form quarter circles round the eastern part of the triangular ground, which is the position most exposed to attack, being otherwise unprotected. The extent of the inner rampart is 239 feet, and of the third or outmost one 285 feet. There is an entrance through the two outer ramparts to the inner platform, but it is uncertain whether this was the original entrance to the camp. Appearances indicate that entrance could only be had to the esplanade by passing round the north

end of the inner rampart, and between it and the precipitous descent to the river, an entrance hazardous to an enemy, and one adapted for effective defence from within. A few feet to the north-east of the camp is a pathway leading down a steep bank to the Fangrist water, from which apparently the camp water supply would be got, as there is no indication of a supply having been obtained on the camping-ground.

There are no traces of a connecting way having ever existed between the camp and Harrit's Dyke. But on the opposite side of the Blackadder valley an entrenched dyke is said to have started from near the river bank and run southwards along the heights for half a mile when it turned west. In this part of its course the only remains are a small portion of a mound on the height not far from its start. On turning west it went along what is now Black Dikes and Crawley plantations, the public road intervening, a mile above the town. The course afterwards was south-westwards, tracings having been seen on Rumbleton farm, in the direction of a camp situated two miles west of Black Dikes on the north side of the railway opposite Rumbletonlaw. This camp appears to have been on the line of the dykes.[1]

[1] Some years ago this camp was almost obliterated by the farmer of Rumbletonlaw. Such is the regard had by too many to remains of local antiquities.

In Black Dikes plantation the fosse and mounds, for a length of 120 yards, are still prominent. There are two dikes formed of earth 6 feet broad, and on the outside 2 feet in height. The ditch or fosse between is 8 feet wide, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep. They are less defined in the Crawley plantation, at the end of which the traces cease. These remains show that the work was what is called a covered way. These covered ways of communications present in general an outline of two banks nearly of an equal height, with an intermediate broad and flat ditch between them (Fosbrooke's *Antiquities*).

The Kaimes. — Three miles north of Greenlaw, near Bedshiel, there is an irregular gravelly ridge called The Kaimes. It extends for two miles, is about 50 feet broad at the base, and between 30 and 40 feet in height. The formation is somewhat circular, with the hollow towards the north. There are several breaks in the continuity. The latest and most generally accepted theory regarding these formations is, that they are due to glacial action, which connects them with the phenomena accompanying the meeting of ice on the land, leaving a deposit of stone, mud, sand, etc., loosened from rocks and earth by the movements of the glacial ice.

Crooked Rigs.—Two examples of a former system of land cultivation in the form of crooked rigs occur in the parish: one on the farm of Crumrig, the other at the Well Tree acres. At Crumrig (literally, crooked rig) the rigs are much raised, but not so curved as those at the Well Tree, which are of the common height, having a double equal curve, on the lines of the letter S, but of a reversed form—left to right. We have not seen any reason assigned for this serpentine form of rigs, but it was common on run rig lands.

The following reasons may be suggested. If the ploughing of the land commenced near a stream that was crooked in its course (which was usually done when land was thus situated), the line of ploughing followed the bends of the stream. This was the simplest way of utilising the land close to the stream. And as to the curves being carried to the opposite side of the land thus ploughed, that part might be used as waste or common, of which there was always some. This theory would account for the form of the Greenlaw crooked acres, as a crooked ditch stream—dry in summer—ran alongside at the south. Of course there is no waste land now at the opposite side, which is squared up. A similar condition exists in the rigs of former ploughing up the Blackadder valley, and at Crumrig.

It has also been suggested that the crooked form of the rig led to more water running out of the land into the furrows, on the principle of cross sheep drains. The rigs, as is well known, were high in the middle to allow of the water running off more freely.[1]

Antiquarian Finds.—The local finds of an antiquarian nature have been, so far as I have been able to learn, comparatively few. In the Statistical Account of the Parish in 1834, the Rev. Abraham Home says, "that in the north-west part of the parish a barrow or cairn, on being taken down a few years ago to build dikes, was found to contain a human skeleton, which was so placed as to lead to the belief that the body had been cut through the middle and one half placed above the other." . . . "And in removing turf for a quarry on the line of Black Dikes, about 1832, a number of gold and silver coins of the reign of Edward III. were found." Mr John Spottiswoode of Spottiswoode, in his manuscript account of Harrit's Dyke, as quoted by George Chalmers, says, "that a silver chain was found at it

[1] When some crooked rigs on a farm near Carnwath were being straightened, some old people resident on the farm being asked why the rigs were made in that form in former times, replied that it was "to please the fairies," who were thereby better hid from observation. If they were made straight the fairies were displeased and caused bad crops.

opposite to Greenlaw, and was given to the Earl of Marchmont." About 1828, some Roman coins and pottery were found at Corbie Heugh quarry by the Fraters and John Pennie, masons in Greenlaw. They were claimed by Sir William Purves of Marchmont. A very fine stone axe was found in 1876 by Mr Alexander Lyall, Wester-raw, Greenlaw, in excavating ground at the back of his house. There were traditions of several men in the district having found "a potful of money" while working at Corbie Heugh quarry; but whether there was anything more than rumour in this we cannot say.

CHAPTER XXX

OLD AND EXTINCT FAMILIES

The Homes of Greenlaw Castle

After Greenlaw Castle became the property of Sir George Home of Spott, in 1569, we do not know to what extent it was made a family residence by successive owners, till we come down to the branch of the Homes, designed as of Greenlaw Castle. In Greenlaw churchyard, at the north-east end of the church, there is a thruch tombstone belonging to the family. Unfortunately, the inscription, which is in Latin, is much obliterated.

The following is a translated copy :—

formerly
died on May in the
year of our Lord 1667 and in
the 27th year of his age.
Also Eta
daughter of William Hume of Greenlaw
Castle 2nd February in the
year of our Lord 1700 and in the 22nd year of
her age. William of
William Hume of Castle Castle
died February in the year of
our Lord 1713 and in the year of age.

Adjoining this tombstone there is a mural stone at the end of the church, with an inscription — now quite illegible — which tradition assigns to the Greenlaw Castle Homes.

According to Mr Morrison Hume of Coldingham Law, a member of the family who lived in the first half of the eighteenth century, the family is a branch of the Homes, descended from "Patrick Home of Ye Law" and Margaret Weymss his spouse. Patrick was alive in 1576, and David his son in 1574. We then lose trace of the family till we come to Robert Home, minister of Greenlaw, already noticed in the list of ministers of the parish. He was born in 1595 and died in 1673. In his earlier years, before his settlement at Ellem in 1635, he was "servitor to Earl Patrick" of Redbraes (now Marchmont). He is said to have been married to Agnes Methven, whilst residing at Redbraes. He had two sons, William of Greenlaw Castle, and James, and a daughter Margaret, married to George Holiwell, minister of Polwarth.

William was seized in the lands of Greenlaw Castle, Henlaws, and Claydub in September, 1674 (*R. G. S.*). In 1696 he had assigned to him by Sir Archibald Cockburn of Langton, the lands of Whiteside, with power to remove tenants till such time as he was repaid a sum of money loaned to Sir Archibald (*County*

Records). William was a Commissioner of Supply and for some time Sheriff-substitute of the county. He died in 1703.

His son William was served heir to his father, 14th October 1703 (*County Records*). He married, 6th October 1705, Anne, second daughter of Sir Alexander Purves of Purves (Purveshall). The marriage was celebrated in Eccles Church. On 10th July 1734 he was appointed Chamberlain and Baron Bailie of the lands and barony of Coldstream by Thomas, Earl of Haddington; and after receiving these appointments he seems to have changed his residence from Greenlaw Castle to Mellerstain.

The last mention in the parish register of his residence at the castle is in connection with the burial of Mrs Home in February 1729. In 1730 there is an entry of a tenancy of Greenlaw Castle by William Mason. And on 10th December 1731, there is an entry of the mortcloth and great bell charges at the funeral of Mary Home, daughter of William, who was interred in Greenlaw churchyard on the 9th September 1731.

On 3rd March 1738, William renounced Greenlaw Castle, Claydub, and Henlaws, in favour of Alexander, Earl of Marchmont (*R. G. S.*). He died in 1743, probably at Sharplaw, Roxburghshire, which he had previously purchased. His wife predeceased

him in February 1729, and was buried in Greenlaw churchyard (Parish Register).

William had three sons, Patrick and William who both died young, and Robert Boyne, born July 1713; and four daughters, Jean Isoble, Mary, Helen (married to Rev. Dr Alexander Duncan), and Elizabeth (married to John Jack), all born at Greenlaw Castle. The Rev. Dr Duncan and Helen Home had a daughter Agnes, who married Thomas Cleghorn, Inspector of Customs. They had two sons, Rev. Thomas Cleghorn, minister of Smailholm (who died 1841), and Mr David Cleghorn, W.S. (who died 1842).

Robert, who was a surgeon to Burgoyne's Regiment of Light Horse, succeeded his father in the lands of Sharplaw. He died 6th January 1786, at Hull, where he had established his home, practising as a surgeon. He was married to Mary Hutchison, daughter of Col. Alexander Hutchison. Five sons and four daughters were born of the marriage. William, Hutcheson (both d.s.p.), Robert, William (married in 1805 Ann Gosset, and had issue: William Duncan, Anne, Emily, and Elizabeth, who married L. C. Rooke, R.N.), and Everard; Anne (married John Hunter the great anatomist), Mary (married Robert Mylne, Milngraden family), Helen, and Elizabeth. Everard was born at Hull 6th May 1756,

studied surgery under his brother-in-law, and became a great surgeon. He was sergeant surgeon to the king, and was created a baronet 2nd January 1813. He married Jane Tunstall, daughter and co-heiress of James Tunstall, D.D., and widow of Stephen Thompson, Esq., and by her had two sons, James Everard, Captain R.N., and William Archibald, who entered the Church; and four daughters: Jane, Mary Elizabeth (married C. P. Rushworth), Harriet Catherine, Charlotte (married Captain B. Yeoman, R.N.). Sir Everard died 31st August 1832, at his apartments in Chelsea College, aged 76 (*Gentleman's Magazine*, October 1832).

His successor, Sir James Everard Home, 2nd Baronet, died without issue 2nd November 1854, when the baronetcy became extinct.

Sir Everard's sister Anne, who married Dr John Hunter, was a woman of great personal attractions and mental accomplishments. In 1802 she published a volume of poems, amongst which is the well known song, "My mother bids me bind my hair," which lives for ever in Haydn's setting. She also wrote the words for Haydn's "Creation." She died at London in January 1821.[1] Mrs Hunter had four children: John (who became a colonel in the

[1] See *John Hunter, Man of Science and Surgeon*, by Stephen Paget. T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1897.

army), James (died in infancy), Mary Ann (died young), and Agnes (who married (1) Captain, afterwards Sir James, Campbell, and after his death Col. Charleywood. She had no children by either marriage).

Robert, third son of Robert Home, surgeon, was born at Hull, August 1752. He was a great painter. After studying at Rome he lived for some time in Dublin and London and then went to India, where he became painter to the King of Oude. He died at Calcutta 12th September 1834. He was twice married, the second time to Anne Alicia Paterson, who had no issue. By his first wife, Angelica Kauffmann, he had five children :—

1. Anne, who married John Walker.

2. William James, born 1786, Captain, E.I.C., d.s.p. 1809.

3. Robert Home, born 1789, Major-General, C.B., married Harriet Campbell his cousin, and had issue :

(1) Robert, born 1839, d.s.p. 1849 ;
(2) Harriet Mary, married Rev. H. C. D. Chandler ;
(3) Sophia.

Robert Home died 12th May 1842.

4. John Home, born 1787, Major-General, married Susan Batsford ; no issue ; died 1860.

5. Richard Home, born at London, 1789, Major-General, married Frances Sophia Fraser, by whom he had seven sons and six daughters :

(1) Richard Raper ; (2) John, died in childhood ;
(3) Duncan Charles, Lieutenant Bengal Engineers ;

(4) Robert, Colonel Royal Engineers, C.I.E., and Inspector-General Irrigation Works, India ;
(5) George Row, Lieutenant Bengal Artillery, born 1837, d.s.p. 1856 ;
(6) Frederick Jervise, Colonel Royal Engineers, Companion of the Star of India, born 1839, married Constance Stanley Macgowan, by whom he had issue, Frederick (who died young), Violet Fraser (married Major Drummond), Archibald Fraser, XIth Hussars, and Everard Fraser. By his second wife, Marion Walton, he had no issue ;
(7) Alexander Lefevre, born 1846, Indian Forest Department ;

And six daughters :

(1) Anne ;
(2) Caroline Purves, married Colonel R. W. Fraser ;
(3) Frances Harriet, married Dr G. R. Playfair ;
(4) Mary Anne ;
(5) Jean Batsford ; and
(6) Augusta Anne.

Lieutenant Duncan Charles Home led the storming party in the blowing-in of the Kashmere gate at the siege of Delhi, 20th September 1857 (Indian Mutiny). For this exploit he was promised the V.C., which, however, he did not live to receive.

Lord Roberts, in his *Forty-one Years in India* (vol. i., pp. 229-30, 263), speaks of Home as "the hero of the Kashmere gate."

Colonel Robert Home, previously mentioned, the fourth son of Major-General Richard Home, was born at Calcutta in 1834, and

died at Cheltenham in 1896. In 1868 he married Elizabeth Georgiana Elton, and had issue :—Eliza Blanche (married to Major J. G. Day), Ethel Frances, and Kathleen Minette, Richard Duncan Elton, Royal Engineers, John Elton, William Elton, and Robert Elton Home, D.S.O., Captain in the Royal Artillery, who is the present representative of the family in the direct male line of descent, born 29th May 1869.

The following shows the direct line of representative succession :—

Patrick Home of Ye Law, who was alive in 1576.

David Home, his son, who was alive in 1574.

After David the trace is lost till we come to

1. Robert Home, minister of Greenlaw, born 1595, died 1673.

2. William Home, of Greenlaw Castle, died 1703.

3. William Home, of Greenlaw Castle and Sharplaw, died 1743.

4. Robert Home, of Sharplaw, Surgeon, born 1713, died 1786.

5. Robert Home, Artist, born 1752, died 1834.

6. Richard Home, Major-General, born 1789, died 1862.

7. Robert Home, Colonel R.E., C.I.E., born 1834, died 1896.

8. Robert Elton Home, Captain, D.S.O., Royal Artillery, born 1869.

In September 1897, Lieutenant Home visited Greenlaw and Smailholm in quest of information relative to the ancestry of the family, and other particulars, but he found very little. Some of the earlier family documents had been in the possession of a lady member of the family, who, out of bad feeling towards some other members, had destroyed them. The Rev. Thomas Cleghorn, previously noticed, had in his possession some letters and various papers which had belonged to the William Homes of Greenlaw Castle. Of none of these could Lieutenant Home find any trace.[1]

William Home of Greenlaw Castle bore—Crest on a wreath of the Coat (argent and vert), a lion's head erased p.p^{r} collared sa: the collar charged with a fleur de lis, or.

Greenlaw Castle stood about a quarter of a mile east of Greenlaw and a little south of the river Blackadder, in what is now the second field on the north side of the Castle Loan road going south-east. Three old ash trees still

[1] For a great deal of the information about the genealogy of the Home family, I am indebted to Lieutenant [now Captain] Robert Home, the present representative of the family.

mark the site. There is no extant description of the castle, but we may presume it would not be of great size. In keeping however with the times when Border raiding was frequent, there was near the castle a large stone building with strong folding doors, strengthened with iron ribs, in which were placed the cattle and other stock when a raid was feared. This is the description given of it by an old woman who had seen the building. The castle ceased to be occupied as a manor-house after 1729. After that the farmer of the lands had part of it as his farm-house. Latterly, the rooms were occupied by the farm-servants on Castle Mill farm down to about 1820. A few years after that date it was taken down. When the castle lands were let to a tenant, the name Castle Mains was given to the farm. The present South Acres were a part of the castle domain lands, and the land entry that runs along the foot of these acres was the line of the approach to the castle from the west and was formerly known by the name of "the avenue."

CHAPTER XXXI

OLD AND EXTINCT FAMILIES—*continued*

SCHORESWOOD OF BEDSHIEL

THIS was an ancient family. In the writs of Bedshiel lands, there is noted a precept for infefting Thomas Schoreswood, son of Thomas Schoreswood in the lands, of date 1458. They continued in possession of the family down till 1639, when they came, as the result of a wadsett, into the hands of George Home of Kimmerghame; and they passed successively into the hands of his son Robert in 1659, of his grandson, George, in 1684, and of his great-grandson, Robert, in 1705. This Robert died in 1710 without issue, when they passed, by heirship, into the possession of Patrick, Earl of Marchmont, who was a nephew of the first George.

In June 1494, the Earl of Buchan resigned the superiority of the lands in favour of Alexander, Lord Home (*R. G. S.*). In the writs of the land, it is stated that the

Schoreswoods were kindly tenants (rendering a nominal reddendo).

George Schoreswood, Bishop of Brechin, was of this family. Bishop Keith, in his list of Scottish bishops, has the following under the See of Brechin :—"George Schoreswood, bishop, 1454. George Schoreswood of the family of Bedshiel, in the shire of Berwick (Charta penes Comitem de Marchmont) was first rector of Culter, 1449 (C. Moravia). He was one of the king's clerks, and in the year 1453, Chancellor of the Church of Dunkeld. He was confessor to the king in 1454, the which year he goes on an embassy to England (Rymer), and on 22nd October in same year—1454—he is bishop of this See (C. Mor). He was also Royal Secretary, and, last of all, became Lord High Chancellor (Rymer et Reg. Chart.). . . . He is said to have been bishop as far down as the year 1462 (C. Aberbrothock)."

George Schoreswood is frequently mentioned in deeds published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. In a transumpt of charter by James II. to John Sinclair of the lands of Polwarth, 17th July 1443, George is noted as the king's clerk (Marchmont MSS.).

When he was promoted to the See of Brechin in 1454, he held "the perpetual

vicariage of the parish church of Haddington," which he was then required to vacate in favour of "James Gray, clerk of the diocese of St Andrews, and M.A." The Pope directed "the commissioners to institute him in the said church with its rights and dues" (Duke of Roxburgh's MSS.).

In 1457-58, he is mentioned as bishop and chancellor, and in 1460 as bishop, whilst Lord Avondale is noted as chancellor (Home MSS.). So Bishop Keith is mistaken when he says that George "held the office of chancellor till his death" in 1463.

CHAPTER XXXII

OLD AND EXTINCT FAMILIES—*continued*

The Halyburton Family

The family of Halyburton took its surname from the lands of Halyburton, a place three miles north of Greenlaw. The first known owner of the lands was Tructe, who had a son

I. David, first noticed as giving the church of his vill of Halyburton to Kelso Abbey about 1160. He is a frequent witness in writs of the monastery. He held his lands under the Earl of Dunbar.

II. Walter, his son and successor, was the first of the family who assumed the family surname from the lands under the designation of Walterus de Halyburton. He was witness to a grant to Kelso Abbey in 1207. He had three sons, Sir William, Adam, and Sir Henry.

III. Sir William Halyburton, married Christian, daughter and at length sole heiress,

of Richard de Fawnys, of Fawnys, Berwickshire, by whom he had a son and successor,

IV. Philip de Halyburton. He confirmed in 1261 the donations to Kelso Abbey made by his grandfather and uncle, of lands of Melvestan (Mellerstain), and also grants by his predecessors of Halyburton Chapel. He died before 1296, when Alicia, his widow, obtained from Edward I. a precept to the sheriffs of Edinburghshire and Berwickshire, to repone her in the possession of jointure lands in these counties. By her he had a son,

V. Sir Henry Halyburton. He swore allegiance to Edward I. for his lands in Berwickshire in 1296. From King Robert Bruce, "Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, had a charter of the barony of Morthington and Longformacus, which pertained to Agnes Morthington and Henry Halyburton her spouse" (Robertson's *Index of Charters*).

VI. Sir Adam Halyburton, son of Sir Henry, was one of the sureties in a contract of marriage (1321) between John, son and heir of Sir Malcolm de Innerpeffen, and Margaret, daughter of William Sinclair. He had three sons: (1) Sir Walter, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Durham 1346, was confined in the Tower of London, and from thence carried in 1347 to the Castle of Windsor, ten merks sterling being allowed by the King of England

to bear the charges of the journey. He obtained his liberty with King David in 1357, and got a safe conduct to England to negotiate affairs of State in 1358. He was High Sheriff of Berwickshire in 1364, and was one of the commissioners on the part of Scotland who met at Muirhouselaw, 1st September 1367. He died about 1385, leaving a son and successor, Sir John Halyburton. This Sir John was taken prisoner at Nisbet in 1402. He died without issue. (2) Sir John. (3) Alexander, taken prisoner at Durham 1346. He had a charter of the lands of Drem (Edinburghshire) from King David II., on the resignation of William More. Isabel Douglas, Countess of Mar, granted a charter to Alexander of the barony of Saline in Fife.

VII. Sir JOHN HALYBURTON, second son of Sir Adam, married a daughter and co-heiress of William de Vaux, or de Vallibus, Lord of Direlton, with whom he got a considerable estate and quartered the arms of Vaux with his own. He thus became the founder of the Halyburton family of Drem. He was killed at Nisbet in 1355. He had a son,

VIII. Sir JOHN HALYBURTON of Direlton. He was witness to a charter to Robert Edgar of Wedderly in 1378, confirmed 1384. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir John

Cameron of Ballegarno. She was one of two co-heiresses of her father, and brought to her husband part of the estates of her father in Perth and Haddington counties. Sir John quartered the arms with his own. They had (1) Sir Walter, (2) George Halyburton of Gogar, and a daughter Jean, married to Sir Henry St Clair, first Earl of Orkney. He died about 1392.

IX. Sir Walter Halyburton of Direlton. He was one of the hostages for the ransom of James I., 1424, held the office of High Treasurer of Scotland, was created a Peer 1440 or 1441, and died in 1449.[1] He married Lady Isabel Stewart, eldest daughter of Robert, Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, relict of Alexander, Earl of Ross, by whom he had issue : (1) John, second Lord of Halyburton, (2) Walter, (3) Robert, (4) William, and a daughter Christian, married to George, first Earl of Rothes.

X. John, second Lord Halyburton. He appointed Alexander Home of Home Sheriff-depute of Berwickshire for life, which was confirmed under charter of the Great Seal, January 1447. By his wife Janet, daughter of

[1] Lord Walter succeeded to the lordship of Halyburton on the death of his second cousin, Sir John Halyburton, of Halyburton before mentioned, the lordship thus falling to the Direlton branch. This is seen from his possession of local lands within the lordship of Halyburton.

Sir William Seton of Seton, he had two sons: (1) Patrick, (2) George, fourth Lord of Halyburton.

XI. Patrick, third Lord of Halyburton. He married Margaret, eldest daughter of Patrick, first Lord Hales, and had a charter of the lands of Direlton, Hassington, Brigeame, and Mellostane, 25th March 1451. He had no issue.

XII. George, fourth Lord Halyburton, succeeded his brother. He had three sons: (1) Archibald, (2) Patrick, sixth Lord, (3) Andrew (Rector of Cranshaws).

XIII. Archibald got from his father the lordship of Halyburton, which was confirmed to him by charter of the Great Seal, 1471. He died before his father, leaving a son.

XIV. James, fifth Lord of Halyburton, succeeded his grandfather; he died unmarried.

XV. Patrick, sixth Lord Halyburton. He had three daughters: (1) Janet; (2) Mariota, married to George, fourth Lord Home; (3) Margaret, married to George Ker of Fawdonside.

Janet Halyburton married William, second son of Lord Ruthven. She inherited both the estate and title of Direlton. The title Lord Direlton remained in Patrick her son. Her grandson, William, bearing the title of Lord Ruthven and Direlton, was made Earl

of Gowrie, in 1581. Her great grandson, John, Earl of Gowrie, forfeited it in 1600, and thus the title of Lord Halyburton or Direlton returned to the Crown (Wood's *Douglas Peerage*).

Branches of the family settled in different parts of the country as landowners, others occupied high position in Church and State. James Halyburton, Provost of Dundee, and his brother Alexander took an active part in the work of the Reformation. George Halyburton, of the Pitcur branch, was minister of Coupar in Angus, and afterwards Bishop of Brechin from 1678 to 1682 (Keith's *Scottish Bishops*). Another, George Halyburton, minister at Perth, was made Bishop of Dunkeld. He died 1664 (*ibid.*).

Judge Thomas Chandler Halyburton, of Nova Scotia, author of *Sam Slick in England* and *The Clockmaker*, was a descendant of the family.[1]

The arms of Halyburton of that ilk are "Or on a bend az, three mascles of the first" (Burke's *General Armoury*).

The lands belonging to the Halyburton family, before they fell into the Direlton branch in the person of Lord Walter, were consider-

[1] R. G. Halyburton, Q.C., F.R.G.S., London, a member of the Judge's family, called on the author to make inquiries about Halyburton, which he came to see as being the cradle of the family and the etymon of its name.

able, as appears from the list of lands for which protection and warrandice was given to Sir John Halyburton on 19th June 1389. This Sir John was of Direlton, as appears from the lands belonging to that branch being included in the list. Sir John was heir apparent to his cousin Sir John Halyburton of Halyburton, and probably for that reason as well as for security of his cousin's interest, he included the lands with his own.

The following is the list of Halyburton lands :—"Vill of Halyburton and the whole lordship, the Vill of Lambdene, 'le shirres-bygyng, 'le Fawenys, and 'Melvstanys, the Vill of Dalcov, 'le Flas, and Ifly, Wethirlie, Raughburn, Nathirthern ;" all in Berwickshire. Then follow the lands of Dyrlton Barony and other lands (*Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland*, vol. iv., 1357, 1509, p. 86).

Bedshiel lands were also in their possession. There was a charter of confirmation of the lands to Mark Halyburton, August, 1452 (*R. G. S.*). This Mark was a "faithful friend and sometime secretary of James, ninth and last Earl of Douglas." In 1457 (after the fall of the Earl) the lands were forfeited by Mark. They were then in superiority granted by James II. to his brother James Stewart (afterwards Earl of Buchan) (Hst.

MSS. Com., Home MSS.). In 1494 the earl resigned the superiority in favour of Alexander, Lord Home (*R. G. S.*).

The lands of Howlaws, south of Greenlaw, were in 1450 disponed by John, Lord Halyburton, to James, Master of Douglas, who, in 1451, granted them to Alexander Home, Lord of that ilk.

In 1450, the same Lord Halyburton granted the lands of Brighame and Brighameshiels and others described, to William, Earl of Douglas, who, 28th April 1451, gifted them to Sir Alexander Hume, son and apparent heir of Sir Alexander Hume of that ilk (Home MSS.).

The properties of Patrick, sixth Lord Halyburton, were divided amongst his three daughters. In the division the third part of the lands of Halyburton (by itself) came into the possession of the Homes of Home, George, fourth Lord Home, having been married to Mariota, the second daughter. Ultimately the whole lands became vested in John Home of the Coldingknowe Homes, and were by him sold to Patrick, Earl of Marchmont in 1701 (*Deeds County Records*).

CHAPTER XXXIII

OLD AND EXTINCT FAMILIES—*continued*

The Greenlaw Family of that Ilk

We have previously noticed a William de Greenlaw (page 2) as being the earliest recorded member of the family. The existence of the family seems to have been unknown to all writers who have hitherto furnished contributions to the history of Greenlaw.

Where the surname Greenlaw occurs in the earlier charters, they have mistakenly applied it to Patrick, who got from his father Cospatrick, third Earl of Dunbar, the manor of Greenlaw not later than 1166, and to his son William by his first marriage, and to some supposed members of the family of William, of which family existence it is to be noted there is no evidence. William is supposed by those writers to have used the surname Greenlaw till he acquired the lands of Home, when he assumed the surname of Home from these lands. This belief is due simply to the fact

that Patrick and William were holders of Greenlaw lands, and the consequent presumption was that they bore the surname, a presumption that has vitiated all or most that has been written on the question. And the family of Home having held Greenlaw manor lands immediately prior to their acquiring the lands of Home, that fact in their family history was kept alive by the succeeding greatness of their house, whilst at the same time it also tended to keep out of view in the popular mind consideration of any other early prior possessor of Greenlaw lands. In an article on the town and parish of Greenlaw by the Rev. John Hunter Walker, the then incumbent of the parish, which appeared in the volume of the Berwickshire Naturalist Club for 1863-68, the writer speaks of the above William, son of Patrick, as William de Greenlaw (as of the Greenlaw family) without offering any evidence in support thereof. He goes on to say, "The succession to William de Greenlaw's properties seems to have been for some generations in the children of the first marriage, as we find the names of Roland de Greenlaw and others attached to deeds of that period; but subsequently all his properties seem to have fallen to the children of the second marriage, by which he was the progenitor of the numerous and powerful Border family of Home."

Unfortunately for this theory of family succession, the writer brings forward no evidence. What proof is there that William had a family by his first marriage? He mentions a Roland de Greenlaw as in the line of succession. But this Roland had his residence in Greenlaw parish, presumably at Old Greenlaw, about the year 1200 (Charter, Kelso Abbey, 145), about twenty-eight years before William succeeded to his Greenlaw property, as we know that Patrick his father was then alive, he having witnessed a deed of Alexander II. in that year (Wood's *Peerage*). During the period of William's possession of Greenlaw, and during the greater part of that of Patrick's, the surname de Greenlaw repeatedly occurs in charters relating to Greenlaw and neighbourhood. But Patrick and William in their charters relating to the lands and church of Greenlaw, designate themselves as Patrick, son of the earl, and as William, son of Patrick, not Patrick de Greenlaw. This of itself intimates that they had not assumed the surname, which would be accounted for by its having been assumed by another family. Their high relationship allowed them to designate themselves simply by the terms of propinquity, as sufficiently indicating their individuality in their charters. Of course, in their charters, they are occasion-

ally designed "Dominus de Greenlaw," but that merely indicates their lordship of the place.

The surname "de Greenlaw" first occurs in a charter to Kelso Abbey in 1180, to which a William de Greenlaw is witness. This William could not be William, son of Patrick, as the latter died in 1266 (Wood's *Peerage*). Even had he been alive in 1180 he would not have been of age to witness a deed. This same William de Greenlaw is witness to another charter relating to Kelso Abbey property at Innerwick about 1190 (Charter 143).

About 1200 a Roland de Greenlaw received the privilege of having a chapel in the court of his mansion.[1] A William de Greenlaw got a grant of lands in Hassington (two miles to the south of Old Greenlaw) from Robert de Muscampo, a Norman baron. Laing in his *Scottish Seals* gives the date as about 1220. These transactions took place in the lifetime of Patrick, son of the earl, he as already stated having witnessed a deed in 1228.[2] It cannot be supposed that the three de Greenlaws mentioned in the charters referred to were sons of Patrick. To suppose so, would be to infer that the son during the lifetime of the father assumed to himself a surname from his father's lands. And if the surname was

[1] See page 29. [2] See page 13.

a family one, common to all the persons mentioned, how was it that the son used it and not the father, and one brother and not another?

Besides the grant of lands received about 1220, William de Greenlaw got another grant about 1240, and he himself made a grant of lands to Melrose Abbey in 1248. That this William de Greenlaw was not William, son of Patrick, is evident from the fact that in the charters given and received by the latter within the same period—1220-48—he is styled "William, son of Patrick," and latterly "William de Home." There would not be two Williams in the family, and there is nothing to suggest an alias. If either Patrick or William was the founder of the Greenlaw family, would they not have resided at Old Greenlaw, the original place of the name, and from which undoubtedly the surname was taken? That they did not reside there may pretty conclusively be inferred from "Whytside" being spoken of as "William's demense" (Charter, Kelso Abbey, 76). The "demense" being the land in the actual occupancy of the proprietor, we may conclude that William's residence would be near to his "demense." Suppose William, son of Patrick, to have used the surname of Greenlaw, he must have dropped it when he assumed that of "Home"—by which also his descendants

were known—as we have no record of his having used it afterwards in any form. If he dropped it, as supposed, how are we to account for its continued existence in the case of a Greenlaw family subsequent to his assumption of the name of Home?

Patrick and William would hold their lands under the Earl of Dunbar. But the family of the de Greenlaws appear to have held under the Crown, to judge from the presence of one of them, Roland de Grenelawe, as one of the king's court held at Selkirk in the time of William the Lion in 1208. Only such landholders as held under the Crown were qualified to sit as members of the king's court.

I only add, what in itself is conclusive, that the Greenlaw family bore a different armorial from that of the family of Home. In the "Emblazon of Scottish Arms by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms," of date 1542, the arms of the Greenlaw family are thus given: "Greinlaw of that ilk, Argent a fleur de lis between three mullets, within a bordure engrailed gules." The arms of the Home family were "Vert a Lion rampant, argent armed Gules."

With a view to the identification of persons named Greenlaw, I have carefully sought to ascertain if the surname has been assumed also

from other lands or places named Greenlaw, especially in the counties of Renfrew and Kirkcudbright, these being the most likely parts where it would occur if at all. I have not found any such instance, and am satisfied that Greenlaw in Berwickshire is the only place which has furnished the surname. In reference to the property named Greenlaw, in the parish of Crossmichael, Robert C. Walker, F.S.A. Scot., Newport, Fife, brought under my notice the following interesting reference to it taken from a work entitled *Lands and Their Owners in Galloway*, vol. iii., p. 366: "We have reason to believe that the name of Greenlaw was given by the Gordons at this time (*circa* 1627) to this portion of the ancient barony (Crossmichael) so long held by the church, and that it was taken from Greenlaw, the county town of Berwickshire, close to the lands of Gordon, from which the Gordons take their name, being the first land owned by them in Scotland."

The surname Greenlaw is thus a territorial one, taken from the lands and place of Old Greenlaw. The first form, as with all such surnames, was "de Greenlaw," the French preposition *de* (of) being prefixed, intimating the connection of the bearer of the surname with the place from which it was taken. We have no materials which would lead us to fix

the date of the settlement of the founder of the family. How much further back than 1180, when we first notice the name, the family existence may be dated, there is nothing certain to guide us. The fact that they bore a territorial surname shows their possession of, and settlement on, their lands as far back at least as the time when surnames began to be assumed.

We have seen references to the family in charters in 1180, 1190, and 1200 (page 281). And from a charter by William de Grenelaw in 1241 (Charter, Melrose, 234-236) three successions in the family are identified. In this charter William styles himself William de Grenelaw, son of Roland, son of William. In 1248 William bestowed his Hassington lands on the monks of Melrose, at a court held at Ederenham (Edrom) in the open court of Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, the overlord. The grants were confirmed by Patrick, and likewise by King Alexander II., at Berwick, on April the 18th and the 20th, 1248 (Charters, Melrose, 234, 235, 236). From the terms of the king's confirmation it appears that some land in Pittlesheugh was also included in the grant.

In the charter of confirmation William de Alwinton is given as the donor instead of William de Grenelawe, but there is no doubt

that the two names refer to the same person, and that the one is an alias of the other.

William appears to have been in possession of another property named Alwinton, undoubtedly Alwinton in Northumberland, which very probably formed a part of the "barony of Wooler," held by Robert de Muscampo, from whom William received the grant of the Hassington lands. This William appears to have been succeeded by another William, his son and heir being so styled in a charter confirming his father's grant to the monks of Melrose in 1270 (Charter 331).

I have not seen any notice of the Greenlaw family in connection with the Wars of Independence other than what I have noted in William and Mathew swearing fealty to Edward at Berwick.[1] But neither have I seen any notice of their near neighbours the Homes of Home, as having taken an active part, although they were presumably a more powerful family. The Gordons of Gordon, and the Halyburtons of Halyburton, both of them in close neighbourhood, were the only landed families in the locality whom I have seen noticed as having played an active part in the events of the period, although chiefly on the side of Edward. It is worthy of remark that the district of the Merse was one of the

[1] See page 10.

last districts of Scotland to submit to Robert the Bruce (Kerr's *History of Robert the Bruce*, vol. i., p. 426).

Mathew, son of William, and Richard de Fawnes[1] witnessed a charter to the chapel of Fogo, before 1297 (Charter, Kelso, 305), and the former also witnessed another in 1304. In a witness to a charter to Kelso Abbey (197), Mathew is designed a "burgess of Kelso." This he could be, although he might be at the same time either the possessor or the heir of the paternal lands. Curiously, we have an example in the near locality. In a donation to the monastery of Dryburgh in 1338, a William de Boisville, a witness, is designated "Alderman of Roxburgh." He was then proprietor of the lands of Oxmuir near Hume.[2]

A Mathew de Grenelawe was Mayor of Berwick, as appears from his witnessing two charters to Coldingham Priory (Nos. 48 and 50), probably shortly after 1300. Whether or not he was the same person as Mathew, son of William, is uncertain. A Richard de Grenelawe appears in the rent roll of Kelso

[1] Mathew de Grenelawe and Richard de Fawnes were attorneys. They are so designed in a suit between the Abbot of Kelso and Mr John of Bernard Castle in 1289. *Historical Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland.* Arranged by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson.

[2] Anderson's *Scottish Nation*, vol. i., p. 344.

Abbey, made up about the year 1300, as a holder of lands under the Abbey for which he paid them a rent. And in the reign of David II. (1329-71), a Roger de Grenelawe had a "charter of the lands of Butterland in the town of Cramond."[1]

The Greenlaw family produced a number of clergymen, some of whom held high office. The first I have noticed is William (a common name in the family), who is mentioned in a dispute to which he was a party in 1226. The dispute had reference to the church of Rossinclerach held by him along with another, contrary to the general council, to which another had been presented.[2]

In the Exchequer Rolls of Scotland for the years 1327-8-9-30-31-58, among payments to ecclesiastics are the names of Symon de Grenelawe and Matheo de Grenelawe. Their position in the church is not stated. In the Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland (Petitions to the Pope, vol. v., 1, A.D. 1342-1419), there are references to several clerical members of the family. In 1348 William de Grenelawe, styled a "Scot M.A. advanced in canon law, lately

[1] Robertson's *Index to Charters*, No. 16.

[2] *Papal Letters*, vol. i., p. 106. Edited by Henry Blis, B.C.L., published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. London, 1891.

rector of the University of Paris," petitioned for reservation of a dignity or office in the church of Moray, which was granted, as was also a petition for the canonry of Glasgow, with reservation of a prebend (page 132). And in 1349 a petition was presented on his behalf for the deanery of Glasgow about to become vacant. This petition was also granted (188).

In December 1352 William was appointed Apostolic Nuncio in Scotland by Innocent II.; and in July 1353, Bishop Comerensi (Collector of Papal Dues). In a petition to the Pope in 1363 he is styled archdeacon of St Andrews (443), and in November 1359, he was commended to the king by the Pope.[1] William was still Papal Collector and Nuncio in 1363 (Petitions, 409). In 1365 a petition was presented to the Pope by Michael de Monymusk for the deanery of Glasgow on its voidance by William de Grynlaw obtaining a canonry and prebend. This was granted (506). But in 1366 another petition was presented to the Pope by William, complaining that he was kept out of his deanery, and asking a mandate to put him in possession. This he obtained. In the same year a petition was presented by John de Drum for the church of

[1] Index of Principal Men and Places. Old Monuments illustrating the history of the Irish and the Scots, 1216-1547.

Kinnef, in the diocese of St Andrews, held by William, on the ground that he could not hold it along with his other benefices (519). From these it will be seen that William was a grasping, ambitious, and withal prosperous ecclesiastic.

Gilbert de Grenelaw.—The most distinguished of the clerical, and, indeed, of all the members of the family, was Gilbert de Grenelaw, Bishop of Aberdeen. Gilbert was, previous to his appointment as bishop, canon of Aberdeen. As bishop, he attended the Parliament of Scone in March 1390. He held the office of Chancellour of the kingdom for a great period of his episcopate. On 27th January 1398, the bishop was appointed by a Parliament held at Perth one of the "Council of wyse men and lele," who, in the absence of the "Consal General," were to assist the Duke of Rothesay in the discharge of his duties as the Kyngis' Lieutenant de General (Act Parl., i., p. 210). The bishop took a prominent part in most of the political and ecclesiastical affairs of the realm of that time. He attended the remarkable meeting of the Three Estates held at Perth on 17th March 1415, where he sought a solemn transumpt of the charters of Edward III., renouncing all claims to the superiority of Scotland (Act

Parl., vol. i.). He died in 1422 (*Reg. Aberdeen*, vol. ii., p. 248).

Spottiswoode, in his *History of the Church of Scotland*, says, Gilbert de Grenelawe "was a man learned wisely, and of great esteem with the nobles of the kingdom." In his list of Scottish Bishops, Keith speaks of him as "Gilbert de Grenelaw, of an ancient good family in the shire of Berwick."[1]

Bishop Gilbert's coat-of-arms was displayed on his seal, which had the design of an angel with wings expanded, holding a shield bearing a chevron between three water bougets (Workman's *Heraldic Manuscript*). In the old kirk of Kinkill, Aberdeenshire, there is an old monumental tombstone with the incised effigy of a warrior, with an inscription referring to a member of the Greenlaw family. Mr Jervise, in his *Epitaphs and Inscriptions*, says, "The arms sculptured on the effigy are the armorial of the Greenlaw family, and it is supposed that the person commemorated was a relative of the contemporary Bishop of Aberdeen, one of those noble preservers of the liberties and independence of Scotland, who fell at the battle of Harlaw." Dr Davidson,

[1] For fuller particulars of Gilbert de Grenelaw, see *Registers of the See of Aberdeen*, by Cosmo Innes, Keith's *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, and Spottiswoode's *History of the Church of Scotland*.

Inverurie, in *Scottish Notes and Queries* for November 1888, has an interesting note on the tombstone.

Mr Jervise says "that the arms on the effigy are those of the Greenlaw family." This is correct, however, only as applicable possibly to a junior branch of the family, to which the bishop and the "noble gentleman" recorded on the tombstone appear to have belonged. The existence of the same armorials (one of them with a difference) in the bearings of the bishop and the noble gentleman, points certainly to the existence of a branch of the Greenlaw family which had assumed that coat-of-arms. Possibly the arms indicated a connection with the Ross family, the first of whom, Godfrey de Ros, came from Yorkshire into Scotland in the twelfth century. The arms for Ross were: "Quarterly 1st and 4th argent, a chevron cheque of the field and sable between three water bougets of the last." (Wood's *Peerage.*) As water bouget charges are rare in armorials, the occurrence of them in the case of the bishop and his relative tends, in all probability, to a suggested connection with the Ross family having been formed by one of their ancestors. This, so far as I have been able to trace, is the only explanation of the difference between the arms of the bishop and his relative and those belonging to the

Greenlaw Family of that Ilk, from which they descended.

In 1394, Nicolas de Grenlaw, Bachelor of Canon Law, M.A., had a canonry and the deanery of Glasgow, and in the same year he was granted the prayer of a petition for a canonry in Aberdeen with reservation of a prebend (*Calendar of Entries of the Papal Registers*, Petitions to the Pope, vol. i., A.D. 1342, 1419, p. 587). In 1396 a John de Grenelaw, chaplain of the parish of Gordon, was one of the witnesses of a transumpt of a composition of the Knights Templars with the monks of Kelso regarding the parish church of Culter, the property of the Abbey.

In 1403 a John de Grenelaw was in command of Cocklaw Tower on the Borders when the army of the Earl of March and the Percies laid siege to it as a feint to cover preparations for the dethronement of Henry IV. of England.

In the list of petitions to the Pope already referred to, a clerical member of the family, Thomas de Grenelaw, appears repeatedly as a petitioner for benefices and preferment. In 1408 a petition was presented on his behalf by the Duke of Albany for the canonry and prebend of Ruffel in Dunkeld, notwithstanding that he had canonries and prebends in Aberdeen and Moray. The petition was

granted (Petitions, vol. i., p. 639). By 1414 Thomas had obtained the archdeaconry of Caithness, while he continued to hold his canonries and prebends. In the *Calendar of State Documents relating to Scotland* (vol. iv., p. 191), there is an entry of a safe conduct from Flanders to Scotland to Thomas the archdeacon.

Nicolas de Grenlaw (not the one before mentioned) was chaplain to Walter, son of the King of Scotland, Earl of Athol and Caithness. He had the title of Sir prefixed to his name, a title which was only bestowed on superior priests. He was rector of Aldbarre as well as chaplain to Walter.

In their party allegiance the landed members of the Greenlaw family seem at this period to have adhered to the house of Douglas. We have seen that John de Grenelaw was in charge of one of the Border strongholds in 1403. In 1450 we find another John, who formed part of the suite that accompanied William, the powerful Earl of Douglas, to the Continent.[1]

A George Grinlaw sat for the burgh of Haddington in the Scots Parliament in 1464-1471-1473. He took an active part in work remitted to committees (Acts, Scots Parliament). John Gyrnelaw is a burgh member of Parliament (burgh not stated) in

[1] Privy Seals (Tower), 29, Henry VI., File 5.

the years 1466-67. In an Inquisition on 12th March 1475, respecting the lands of Cranshaws, between Sir John Swinton and the Duke of Albany, a David Greynlaw and a Cristall Grenlaw were present as witnesses (Swinton of that Ilk, p. 32).

A Thomas Grenlaw was a member of the Consistorial Court held in the Church of St Giles, Edinburgh, on 9th March 1477, before which was tried the divorce between Alexander, Duke of Albany, and his wife, Lady Catherine Sinclair. Thomas is styled "one of the venerable men constituting the Court."[1]

A Thomas Grenelaw was procurator for the monks of Kelso in a case held before the council on 5th November 1495.[2]

A Nicolas Greynlaw was a canon of Glasgow Cathedral, being so styled as witness to charters in 1504 and 1506 (Glasgow Charters, 383, and Appendix to Charters, p. 613). A charter by Lindsay of the Byres in March 1528-29 was witnessed by Dominus Robert Grenelaw, Chaplain and Notary Public (*Register of Great Seal*).

Passing over a number of other persons bearing the family name but possessed of no outstanding importance, we come down to a comparatively modern date, and find a name

[1] Scots Acts of Parliament, vol. i., p. 283.
[2] Acta Dominorum Concilii.

coupled with an armorial which, in tracing the family descent, is like the reappearance of a stream that had been lost in the sands. The name is Robert Greenlis, M.D. His arms, registered about 1750, are: "Argent a fleur de lis vert, between three mullets Gules, a border engrailed of the second."

This armorial differs from that of the Greenlaw family of that Ilk, as previously given, only in the colour of the fleur-de-lis, and the bordure, all the charges being the same. The "difference" may be accounted for as showing a descent from a particular branch of the Greenlaw family.

Mr Stoddart (late Lyon Clerk), in his *Scottish Arms*, includes this Robert Greenlis in his notices of the armorials of the Greenlaw family, whose surname, he states, is taken from Greenlaw in Berwickshire. He seems to consider Greenlis as a variant of the surname Greenlaw, taking it in connection with the slight difference between the respective coats-of-arms. This instance of Robert Greenlis points to the continued line of descent as a family still existing with its armorial distinctions. Unfortunately, the name of Robert's residence is not given. So far as further research has shown, we may regard this Robert Greenlis, M.D., as the last known armorial representative of the Greenlaw family.

In the presentation of these notices it will be seen that there is very little allusion to or mention of the lands from which this surname was taken, excepting in the earlier history. There is little doubt that the family were divested of their patrimonial lands at a comparatively early period. Many changes in land ownership took place consequent on the Wars of Independence, and subsequently violent dispossessing of lands by powerful barons was not uncommon. But we are not quite prevented from supposing that the family might be to some extent in possession of their lands down to about 1450, judging from the reference to John de Grenlaw (page 294), in which he is classed as one of fourteen gentlemen belonging to the best families of the country. But at whatever date their connection with the ancient family seat may have been severed, there is no trace of a landed family settlement anywhere else, although the "noble gentleman," Gilbert de Grienlaw, supposed to have fallen at Harlaw in 1411 (see page 291), may point to such a settlement in the case of one branch of the family. Of this, however, I have not discovered any evidence.

We have seen that the family is ancient, but there is no information about its founder. It does not appear, however, to have been a family of great importance, notwithstanding the high position of a number of its members.

Cosmo Innes, in his *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, speaking of the extinction of families during the War of Independence, says "that many have not even left their high sounding names in the country they once ruled." So has it been with the Greenlaws. Whilst they have ceased to exist as a family, their surname is still used and has gone to swell the general mass of surnames.

The extinction of the Greenlaw family is one of the many examples of the same in Berwickshire. There were in the county landed families, now extinct, bearing the names of Spens, Madderson, French, Edgar, Redpath, Brounfield, Dickson, Duns, Trotter, Haitlie, Fawnes, Schoreswood, Halyburton, and Letham, now only represented (some of them not even that) by the survival of the surnames. Such are the mutations of family life.

The materials for an account of the Greenlaw family, of which little or nothing has hitherto been known, I have found to be very limited. But, imperfect as these notices are, they serve to present the family in definite outline, whilst bringing into view its existence in this locality as its place of origin, and may prove useful to some future genealogist, and at the same time serve as a contribution to the Family Histories of Berwickshire.

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